ERIC Document Resume | **See Instruction Sheet** | **DATE OF RESUME** | **DATE RECEIVED**

A. PUBLICATION DATA

ERIC NUMBER ED001662

2. ORIGINATOR CONTROL NO(S). N.A.

3. IDENTIFICATION NO. N.A.

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACE BELOW

MICROFILM COPY AVAILABLE YES ☒ NO ☐

COPYRIGHT GRANTED YES ☐ NO ☒

COPYRIGHT RELEASE FILED YES ☐ NO ☐

TYPE OF REPORT
PROPOSAL ☐
IN-PROGRESS ☐
FINAL ☒
FOLLOW-UP ☐

OTHER ERIC REFERENCES:

ERIC SATELLITE CODE

4. AUTHOR(S):
Saleem, Betty and Miller, S.M.

5. TITLE OF DOCUMENT ABSTRACTED:
Two Years in the Syracuse Labor Market - Work Experiences of Dropouts

6. PUBLICATION TITLE:
N.A.

7. EDITOR(S):
N.A.

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN
ORG. Youth Development Center
Syracuse University
ST. Syracuse, New York
CITY, STATE
TELE. EXT.
INST/LOC CODE

9. PUBLISHER OR SOURCE
Youth Development Center
Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York

10. VOL.	11. PAGES	12. MO./YR.	13. TOTAL PP.
N.A.	N.A.	1/64	122

B. INDEXING DATA

14. SUBJECT AREA

15. TYPE OF ENDEAVOR
research study

16. INDEXING TERMS (6-12)
school dropouts | curriculum changes | social factors | community services
school-industry cooperation | educational goals | counseling-guidance
job opportunities | vocational training | low-level jobs | history | high school seniors

17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

The aim was to discover what kinds of problems dropouts face in the labor market, the kinds of training and/or guidance of benefit to them and whether the school system should provide special training and guidance facilities. Only a few research efforts have studied in depth the post-dropout experience of school-leavers. Forty-one boy and forty-six girl dropouts were located and interviewed two years after leaving school. The sample included only those who did not complete the 12th grade and who did not transfer to another school.

Detailed information is provided in the following areas: description of the sample, marriage after leaving school, dropouts in the labor market, delinquency among dropouts, characteristics of dropouts with favorable employment experience, and the post-dropout experiences of girls. Jobs secured by dropouts were not compared with those secured by graduates over the same time span.

Some of the conclusions drawn were that: 1) social background did not seem to affect the type of entry job secured by dropouts, but did affect rate of job instability; 2) juvenile delinquency was not found to be a general characteristic of dropouts; 3) only low level jobs are available to dropouts; 4) boy dropouts seemed not to have been as handicapped by their aborted education as girl dropouts; 5) the type of job secured was generally limited with respect to advancement opportunities; 6) many jobs were automatically closed to dropouts; 7) most dropouts did not have serious difficulty in securing jobs for which they were eligible though the public employment service was not an efficient means of finding jobs. It was suggested that a much closer relationship between educational processes and available work opportunities is needed. A re-evaluation of the educational system, a reconsideration of employment qualifications by industry, and training programs by industry are called for.

ERIC No.

18. SOURCE OF ABSTRACT

C. FUNDING DATA

19. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATION

20. DIVISION OR DEPT.

21. CONTRACT NO.

PROJECT NO.

22. TOTAL COST OF PROJECT

23. DURATION OR PROJECT

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Office of Education

2

ERIC Form 1

Mulligan

ED001662

TWO YEARS IN THE SYRACUSE LABOR MARKET -- WORK EXPERIENCES OF DROPOUTS

Betty Saleem
S.M. Miller

Youth Development Center
Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York

January, 1964

REPRINTED BY PERMISSION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN PRINTED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 1

STUDY PROCEDURE 2
- The Sample 2
- Method of Study 3

DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE 4
- Family Background 4
- Educational Background 8

MARRIAGE AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL 11

DELINQUENCY AMONG DROPOUTS 13

DROPOUTS IN THE LABOR MARKET 15
- The Importance of Finding a Job 15
- How Readily do Dropouts Find Jobs? 16
- Can a Dropout Maintain Steady Employment? 18
- Rates of Employment and Unemployment 20
- The First Jobs Obtained By Dropouts 23
- Job Advancement 26
- A General Picture of the Jobs Available to Dropouts 33
- How Dropouts Found Their Jobs 38

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF DROPOUTS WITH FAVORABLE EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE. 40
- Age and Grade Achievement 40
- Contacts with Police 44
- Employment before Leaving School 44
- Family and Social Background 45
- Marital and Parental Status 51
- Parents' Marital Status 54

POST-DROPOUT EXPERIENCES OF GIRLS 56

CONCLUSIONS 61

This investigation was supported in part
by a research grant from the Social Security
Administration, Department of Health, Education
and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper is a re-analysis of data collected by a group of eight candidates for the degree of Master of Social Service in the School of Social Work of Syracuse University. This group, under the direction of Dr. Maurice F. Connery, planned and executed each phase of the study; they drew the sample and designed and conducted the interviews. Their analysis of this data is reported in Kenneth Baldwin, Vine Brigham, Katherine Chaffee, Roslyn Gerard, Mary Klein, Isabell Notkin, John Randell and Ruth Shaffer, "The Syracuse Dropout--Two Years later," unpublished group Master's Thesis, Syracuse University, 1962. Their generosity in making this data available to us is deeply appreciated.

The collection of some data, including the records on the public welfare histories of the dropouts' families and their performance in school, was financed by the New York State Division for Youth as part of a records survey of all 1959-60 dropouts from the public schools of Syracuse, New York.[1]

We are also indebted to Dr. Carolyn Comings, who collected and organized the basic data in the records survey of 1959-60 dropouts, to Mr. Ira Harrison, who conducted several interviews in addition to those done by the School of Social Work group, and to Mrs. Katherine Weinstein for her assistance in coding the interviews.

---

[1] S. M. Miller, Carolyn Comings and Betty Saleem, *The School Dropout Problem: Syracuse* (New York State Division for Youth and Syracuse University Youth Development Center, 1963).

STUDY PROCEDURE

The Sample

The dropouts interviewed in this study were selected from a list of all of the 625 youth who dropped out of the Syracuse, New York, schools during the 1959-60 school year. This list was compiled for a records survey of all 1959-60 dropouts in Syracuse.[2] It included only those who did not complete the twelfth grade and who did not transfer to another school. It did include youth who, it was discovered, later returned for further schooling and a few who eventually graduated. From this list a sample was drawn of 120 dropouts, equally divided between boys and girls and between those whose families had received public welfare and those whose families had not received public welfare. The table of random numbers was used to select 30 dropouts from each of the four categories: "boys-welfare," "boys-non-welfare," "girls-welfare," and "girls-non-welfare."[3]

Of the 120 youth in the sample, only 41 boys and 46 girls were located and interviewed.[4] Of the remaining 32, 10 were in military service, 8 lived too far from Syracuse to be reached, 9 could not be located, 2 refused to be interviewed, and 3 were not dropouts.[5] These interviews were conducted in the spring of 1962.

It was suspected that the racial background of a dropout would be a major factor in his post-school job experience. The method of sampling described above resulted in the inclusion of only 19 Negroes, 6 boys and 13 girls. This number was too small to allow for comparison with the white dropouts. In the summer of 1962, therefore, 5 more boys and 6 more girls were interviewed; all were known to be Negroes according to information from schools or from local public agencies.

---

[2] Ibid.

[3] Kenneth Leroy Baldwin, et al, "The Syracuse Drop-Out--Two Years Later," unpublished group Master's Thesis, Syracuse University, p.128.

[4] One girl who was interviewed and included in the original report was eliminated from this analysis on the basis of evidence that she had transferred to another school and was not a dropout.

[5] Baldwin et al, pp.131-32.

The resulting group of dropouts studied in this report is not, therefore, representative of any larger group, not even of the 1959-60 Syracuse dropouts. It is a biased sample in at least four ways: 1) the exclusion of all boys who were in military service at the time the interviews were held; 2)the non-random selection of some Negro dropouts; 3) the slight over-representation of low-income dropouts due to sampling on the basis of family welfare history; 4) the over-representation of females, resulting from the exclusion of those living outside of Syracuse and of boys in military service.

Method of Study

The dropouts were interviewed in the spring and summer of 1962, approximately two years after they left school. Ten interviewers, most of whom were experienced in social casework, participated in the interviewing.

The interview schedule was mostly structured, although it included some open-ended questions. It concentrated largely on the job experiences of the youth after they left school, but also covered further training after dropping out, associational patterns, family life and daily activities.[6]

Information on public welfare assistance, registration at the New York State Employment Service, contacts with the local law enforcement agencies, and achievement in school was obtained by surveying the records of these public agencies and the schools involved.

After perusing the completed interviews, a code sheet was developed; the interviews were then coded and the information was punched on IBM cards for processing.

---

[6] Baldwin et al, appendix.

DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

Family Background

Most studies of school-leavers have shown the majority of dropouts to be from the lower socio-economic levels of their community. Our sample is not different in this respect, except that it may slightly over-represent these lower socio-economic levels due to the sampling procedure which was designed so that one-half of the dropouts' families would have received public welfare assistance. The actual 55 per cent of families receiving public welfare in this sample is somewhat larger than the 42 per cent found in the survey of all 565 Syracuse dropouts for the year 1959-60.[7]

Other measures, including father's occupation, indicate the relatively poor economic position of most dropouts, especially Negro dropouts, as well as the middle class status of a significant minority of white dropouts. Father's occupation was ascertained for 74 per cent of the dropouts; step-father's occupation was used if the information on the father was not available. The occupations were classified according to the United States Census Alphabetical Index for 1960.[8]

---

[7] Miller, et. al., p. 50.

[8] U. S. Bureau of the Census. 1960 Census of Population, Alphabetical Index of Occupations and Industries (rev. ed.). Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1960.

Table 1

The majority of fathers (40 per cent) were operatives; another 17 per cent were craftsmen. Although 24 per cent were service workers (mainly janitors) and laborers, almost as many (19 per cent) were white collar workers, such as managers of small stores or clerical workers. Non-white fathers, as compared with white fathers, were less frequently white collar workers and more often service workers and laborers. While white collar workers were underrepresented among dropouts' fathers (Of all employed Syracuse males, 14 years old and over, in 1960, 42 per cent were white collar workers.), the point is that a sizeable proportion of the dropouts probably did come from middle class backgrounds.

A socio-economic rating was assigned to each occupation according to Otis Dudley Duncan's Socio-economic Index for Occupations, which is based on the NORC study of prestige ratings and on 1950 census data.[9] The scores of the index range from 0 to 96, but almost 8 out of 10 of the jobs of the dropouts' fathers were ranked below 30. Only 10 per cent ranked at 40 or above, and only one had a ranking above 70. The low socio-economic status of most dropouts is clearly indicated, but the non-white dropouts are most often at the bottom of the scale. One-third of the non-white fathers had jobs rated below 10, as compared with six per cent of the white fathers. Only nine per cent of the non-white fathers had a score of 30 or above, and none were ranked above 40.

---

[9] Albert J. Reiss, Jr. Occupations and Social Status. New York: The Free Press, 1961, pp. 263-75.

Table 2

At least 54 per cent of the mothers of the dropouts were employed, as compared with 40 per cent of all Syracuse females, 14 years old and over, in 1960. Non-white mothers were more frequently employed than were white mothers. Of the 43 mothers for whom information on occupation was available, 33 (77 per cent) were operatives or service workers; this contrasts with 30 per cent of all employed Syracuse females. Most of these mothers worked in manufacturing, retail trade, hotels or hospitals. The very menial jobs which were available to dropouts' mothers is another indication of their low socio-economic status.

The census tracts of the city of Syracuse were divided into five socio-economic areas on the basis of an index consisting of five factors: 1) the percentage of craftsmen, operatives, service workers and laborers in each census tract; 2) the median school year completed by all adults 25 years of age and over; 3) the estimated market value of owned homes; 4) the gross monthly rental value for tenant-occupied dwellings; and 5) the percentage of sound dwelling units in the census tract.[10]

Table 3

Of every 10 dropouts, 6 were living in the worst areas of the city when they left school, that is, in socio-economic area V. This was true for 87 per cent of all non-whites and only 47 per cent of the whites. There were no significant differences between boys and girls. No non-whites and 15 per cent of the whites lived in socio-economic areas I and II, again indicating that some white dropouts came from middle class backgrounds.

---

[10] Charles V. Willie and Morton O. Wagenfeld. Socio-Economic and Ethnic Areas of Syracuse and Onondaga County, New York, 1960. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Youth Development Center, 1962.

Although most dropouts represented the lower socio-economic levels, the majority (57 per cent) did not come from broken homes. There were no race or sex differences in this respect. One out of four dropouts had separated or divorced parents; this family situation was most common among Negro girls. One out of seven dropouts had one deceased parent.

Table 4

Medium sized families of three to six children were most characteristic of the dropout's family size. Only 23 per cent came from very large families of seven or more children, and a few more (29 per cent) came from very small families of one or two children. Girls came from large families more frequently than did boys.

Table 5

Of those fathers and mothers for whom educational attainment was ascertained, all but one-fifth were dropouts. The majority (47 per cent of fathers and 65 per cent of mothers) completed junior high school but left before graduation from high school. The remainder did not even complete junior high. These figures probably overestimate the proportion of junior high and high school graduates, since one-fifth of the respondents did not even know the extent of their parents' education; it is likely these parents left school at an early age. The small number of graduate parents made it impossible to control this variable in the analysis of the jobs obtained and desired by the dropouts. The low educational levels of the parents may have affected their ability to advise their sons and daughters in how to apply for jobs and in what kinds of jobs to look for as well as their ability to influence potential employers of their children.

Although most parents were school dropouts themselves, they disapproved of their children leaving school. Two-thirds of the dropouts said their parents disapproved of their decision to leave school, and only one in ten reported their parents were in favor of their decision. Girls' parents more often disapproved than did boys' parents. Non-white parents less often approved than did white parents, but they were more often indifferent.

Dropouts did not necessarily come from families in which early-school-leaving was the norm; of those who had siblings at least 16 years old, 29 per cent reported that all had graduated or were still in school. The majority of the dropouts, however, did come from families in which dropping out was at least as frequent as graduation.

Educational Background

The grade achievements of the dropouts before they left school were varied; they ranged from sixth to eleventh grade completed. One-fifth of the dropouts were within one year of graduation when they withdrew, that is, they completed the eleventh grade. Approximately one-fifth completed grade 10, one-fifth completed grade 9, and almost two-fifths (37 per cent) completed no more than grade 8. More girls than boys (52 per cent and 32 per cent, respectively) had completed the higher grades, 10 and 11. There were no large race differences. Whites, more often than non-whites, completed grade 11, but non-whites more often completed grade 10.

Table 6

Only one-fifth of the dropouts, mostly girls, were at grade levels normal for their age when they left school. More than one-half (75 per cent of boys and 44 per cent of girls) were two or more years retarded in grade level; there were no significant white-non-white differences in percentage seriously retarded. The failure of these boys and girls in school and their placement in classes of youth much younger than they may have been prominent factors in their decisions to leave school.

Table 7

The dropouts were generally very young when they left school; four in ten were 16, and another third were 17. Only one-fourth were at least the age when most youth graduate, that is 18 or older. Girls were somewhat younger than boys in that they were less often 18 or older (17 per cent of girls and 35 per cent of boys).

When the interviews were held, the majority (55 per cent) were 18 or 19 years old. One-quarter were 20. Only 5 per cent were 17 and none were younger than 17 or older than 23. Fewer girls (25 per cent) than boys (57 per cent) were 20 or older.

Almost 8 out of every 10 dropouts had been out of school approximately two to two and one-half years (24 - 31 months) when they were interviewed. A few had been out of school a somewhat shorter time and a few somewhat longer, due to varying dropout and interview dates. The number of months out of school ranged from 20 to 40.

This sample of dropouts seems to be representative of all 1959-60, Syracuse, New York, dropouts in terms of grade completed, grade retardation and age at dropout.[11] In both this sample and the larger survey the boys were somewhat older than the girls, less often reached the higher grade levels and were more often seriously retarded in grade level. The variability in school achievement among dropouts is marked, and each variable must be taken into account as a possible factor in the occupational successes of these youth.

---

[11] Miller, et al, pp. 10-15.

MARRIAGE AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL

Although the majority of the dropouts, especially the girls, were under the age of 20 at the time of the interview, a large number of them (33 per cent of the boys and 48 per cent of the girls) were married. Another 19 per cent of the girls, mostly Negroes, were unwed mothers. Thus, for the majority of girls family responsibilities piled up soon after their school responsibilities ended. In fact, a large number quit school because of pregnancy or plans for marriage. Only a minority of the boys assumed family responsibilities at an early date, however, and most of the single boys had no immediate plans for marriage. Perhaps adult status and a sense of being useful are accorded the boys through their securing employment rather than through marriage.

Table 8

Living arrangements followed the traditional patterns for single and married youth. Of those boys and girls who were single, 84 per cent lived with their parents, and of those who were marrked, 84 per cent lived independently. It seems that married dropouts are no more dependent on their parents than other married youth.

School dropouts did not necessarily marry other dropouts; almost one half of them (46 per cent) married high school graduates. This was true both of boys and of girls, but only 1 of the 10 Negroes who were married had graduate spouses. Grade completed for spouses who did not graduate was usually 9, 10 or 11.

The majority of the girls married craftsmen (26 per cent) or operatives (31 per cent). Only a few (9 per cent) married white collar workers. The remainder married service workers, laborers or members of the armed forces.

Some of the husbands (13 per cent) were unemployed. The number of married Negro females (6) was too small to allow for control of race. The indication is that although the husbands of female dropouts may be high school graduates they are still in the relatively low income brackets. Since only 4 of the wives of the 14 married boy dropouts were working, no statement can be made about the types of jobs which they obtained.

DELINQUENCY AMONG DROPOUTS

A commonly held belief is that youth who leave school cannot find jobs and become mere idlers on street corners and that this idleness inevitably results in crime or delinquency. This contention is not supported by our data; 56 per cent of all boys and 86 per cent of all girls had never had contact with local law enforcement agencies to the extent of an official recording of an arrest. Furthermore, most of the offenses of the remaining dropouts were not serious; girls' offenses usually involved some kind of disorderly conduct, and boys' offenses ranged from pestering neighbors to grand larceny.

Table 9

Although the percentage with juvenile delinquency or police records may be somewhat higher for dropouts than for other youth, it cannot be said that there is a causal relationship, that is, that dropping out causes idleness, which in turn causes delinquency. Only one-quarter of the boys and none of the girls committed any offense after leaving school; most delinquency occurred before the youth dropped out. Those who were arrested after dropping out were also arrested before dropping out in 9 of the 11 cases. Table 10 shows that among boys there was no appreciable difference between offenders and non-offenders in percentage of time employed since leaving school. (Girls are excluded from this table because the number of offenders is so small.) More of the offenders (30 per cent) than of the non-offenders (12 per cent) were unemployed at the time the interviews were given; of the seven offenders who did not have a job at that time, however, only three had any contact with the police since leaving school. It must be concluded that while some dropouts were also delinquents, the delinquency was not due to idleness after leaving school. It is more likely that both dropping out and delinquency are indicators of other disturbances among these youth.

Table 10

Some effort was made to determine which dropouts did come into contact with the police. Race was the most distinguishing factor. Among boys, 82 per cent of the non-whites and 32 per cent of the whites had police listings, and five of the seven girl offenders were Negroes. Offenders did not come from very large families or from broken homes any more frequently than did non-offenders. Offenders were more likely to leave school at an early grade level, however. A total of 78 per cent of the offenders (boys and girls) and only 49 per cent of the non-offenders left school before completing grade 10. This is one indication that other factors were disturbing both the school performance and the social conduct of these dropout-delinquents.

DROPOUTS IN THE LABOR MARKET

The Importance of Finding a Job

The role of a high school youth is clearly defined; there are definite behavior expectations (e.g. doing homework) and definite means of evaluating the behavior (e.g. performance on examinations). Parents, teachers and peers generally agree on their expectations for high school students. The formal graduation ceremony acts as a "rite de passage", easing a youth out of his student status and into the life of an adult. When a youth leaves school before graduation his status and role become confused. No ceremoney eases the transition. Neither he nor his parents and peers know how he should be treated. He is still young; he is not an adult, but he no longer has the responsibilities of a student. If a youth were to chose his status, adult or teenager, it seems likely he would chose that with the greatest prestige,--adult. And the only way to achieve this status, other than waiting for a few years, would be to assume the normal role behavior for adults. For girls this would mean becoming wives and mothers; for boys it would mean finding a job.

The importance of a job for dropouts is shown by the immediacy with which they began job-hunting after leaving school. Almost one-third of the boys had found a job even before they left school, perhaps a factor instigating their decision to drop out. Another 44 per cent of the boys were looking for a job before the end of one month out of school. Few took any extended vacation; only 8 per cent waited four or more months before beginning their search.

-Table 11 here-

The importance of marriage for girls has been shown by the previously reported finding that almost one-half of the girls were married within two years of their school-leaving, even though most were under the age of 20 (Table 8). In spite of the primacy of marriage, a girl hopes to find a job until she does marry or have children. Fully 61 per cent of the girls had started looking for a job before the end of one month after leaving school. These youth, then, boys and girls, are not seeking an escape from all responsibilities by leaving school. They are willing and frequently eager to enter the adult world of employment.

How Readily do Dropouts Find Jobs?

It was not possible to calculate the length of time a youth looked for a job before he was successful. Some probably had to look two or more months, since only 48 per cent of the boys were working within two months after leaving school, and three-quarters of boys had begun to look for work within one month. Another 11 per cent began work within three to five months. Only 26 per cent of the boys confronted very serious employment problems in that they did not begin work for six months or more. The figures for girls are not reliable since many did not enter the labor force immediately. Still, one-third of the girls were working within two months after leaving school.

-Table 12 here-

Non-white boys seemed to find jobs about as readily as did white boys, although the number of non-whites is so small that it is difficult to draw a definite conclusion. (See Table 12) A larger percentage of non-white boys (27 per cent) than of white boys (14 per cent) began work before leaving school. On the other hand, three times as many non-white boys as white boys never worked more than two weeks. Among the girls, Negroes less often than whites (37 per cent and 72 per cent respectively) secured a job within a year and more often waited 20 or more months or never worked at all. The reason for this is obvious; of the 19 Negro girls, at least seven were pregnant or already had children when they left school.

The very young boys, 16 years or younger, had the most difficulty in finding employment; 29 per cent of them and none of those 17 or older had to wait more than ten months before beginning work. Among those 17 or older, on the other hand, 63 per cent were working before leaving school or within two months after leaving; this was true of only 28 per cent of those 16 or younger.

-Table 13 here-

There was some relationship between grade completed and length of time before dropout boys began work, but this relationship disappeared when age was held constant. If a boy is 17 or older, it does not make any difference if he has completed grade 10 or 11 or if has completed no more than grade 9; job availability is the same in both instances. The age of a dropout is more important to the employer than actual grade obtained.

Male dropouts who worked while still in school, improved their chances of finding a job soon upon leaving school. Of those employed before dropping out, 25 per cent continued on the same job and another 35 per cent were working within two months after the dropout date. Of those not employed while in school, only 22 per cent were working within two months. These differences remained with age and with race held constant. Perhaps in-school employment gave a youth some knowledge of how to go about finding a job as well as contacts in the job world who could give him tips on where a job might be open. Or it may be that the only significance of this finding is that work experience is as important an asset in employment-seeking for dropouts as it is for non-dropouts.

-Table 14 here-

Can a Dropout Maintain Steady Employment?

Most boys found jobs fairly quickly. Were they able to keep these jobs or find other ones in order to maintain steady employment? Table 15 indicates that by no means were all boy dropouts irregular or sporadic workers. One-third were employed more than 90 percent of the time since leaving school, and another 13 percent were employed 76-90 percent of the time. The majority of these steadily employed boys held one job most of the time.

-Table 15 here-

One-quarter of the boys were employed 46-75 percent of the time. Their unemployment may have occurred either initially when they were first seeking a job after leaving school, or it may have occurred between jobs. Either explanation is a possibility, since the majority held several jobs and also many did not begin work for three or more months after dropping out. These youth may become steady workers once they find a job which is suitable to them.

A considerable number of the boys (25 percent) experienced extensive unemployment: they were employed less than 45 percent of the time. While two of these boys were not in the labor force, the remainder could not find or hold jobs. Some of these boys would be the targets for the work-training programs designed to provide work orientation rather than work skills.

Non-whites fared about as well as whites in percentage of time employed. The marital and parental status of dropouts was linked to unemployment experience. Two-thirds of the boys who had children had worked more than 75 percent of the time, as compared with 44 percent of those without children. None of those with children were employed less than 30 percent of the time. Steadiness of employment did not increase with marriage, but only with parenthood. Perhaps the added burden of supporting a child made a boy less willing to take a chance and leave one job in hopes of finding a better one.

A boy who was 16 when he left school experienced more unemployment than did the boy who was 17 or 18, perhaps because of his initial difficulty in finding a job. Whereas 55 percent of the older dropouts (age 17 or 18) were employed more than 75 percent of the time during their first two years out of school, this was true of only 26 percent of the younger dropouts (age 15 or 16). The relationship persisted when parental status was held constant. Although the numbers were too small to reach a definite conclusion, it seems likely that both age at dropout and parental status affect the unemployment experience of dropout boys.

Girls, of course, were employed less steadily than were boys because of child-bearing and marriage. Still, one-third of them were employed more than 75 per cent of the time; most of these 17 steadily-employed girls held only one job, and all but four had no children. Of those who did have children, two-thirds worked only 30 per cent of the time or less. Race differences were not large, even though more Negro than white girls were mothers.

Rates of Employment and Unemployment

The employment status two years after he left school was determined for each youth. Approximately three-quarters of the boys were employed and only one in ten was unemployed. (See Table 16.) There were no race differences. While the unemployment rate of 11 per cent is high in comparison with the national unemployment rate, it is not high for this particular age group. As shown in Table 17, the unemployment figures are identical with those for all boys 18-22 years old in the standard metropolital area of Syracuse, even though the 18-22 age group would include high school graduates as well as some college graduates. The standard metropolitan area unemployment rate may be raised somewhat by the fact that this area includes the rural areas of the three counties surrounding Syracuse where unemployment is generally more widespread than in the city. It does seem, however, that among boys there are not large unemployment differentials between dropouts and graduates. The unemployment figures for all youth 18-22 and for dropouts are both more than twice as high as for all Syracuse males (12 per cent and 5 per cent), on the other hand. The indication is that male youth, whatever their educational background, experience more employment difficulty than do adult males. Jobs are open to mature men who, it is assumed, are ready to accept responsibility, when they are closed to youth with similar educational backgrounds.

-Table 16 here-

-Table 17 here-

Girl dropouts experienced unemployment more often than boy dropouts (21 per cent of girls and 11 per cent of boys). Girl dropouts in the labor force were five times more often unemployed than were females 18-22 years old in the standard metropolitan area and more than seven times more often than all Syracuse females 14 and older (Table 17). Girl dropouts are more handicapped in the labor market by their limited education than are boy dropouts. Most white collar jobs and some factory jobs are closed to all but high school graduates. Insufficient attention has been paid to the number of girl dropouts and to their economic plight.

In most action programs designed to help dropouts find and maintain employment as well as in discussions of early school leavers, the attention is focused on the boys. The above findings indicate that perhaps girl dropouts are just as sorely in need of special job training and employment assistance. Many girls are in the labor force in spite of child-caring and housekeeping duties. Two years after leaving school, one-half of the girls were employed, and another 21 per cent were looking for work (Table 16). Of the 25 girls who were married or had children and were also unemployed, at least three-quarters planned to work in the future. As previously indicated, most girl dropouts marry low-income men and often it is an economic necessity for them to work. A girl is likely to work until she becomes a mother, even if she does not plan to work afterwards. One-third of the girl dropouts were employed more than 75 per cent of the time in the first two years since leaving school (Table 15). Most girls seek employment at some time, and many, wspecially dropouts, will have to work a good part of their lives. In the interviews, many of the girls had very vague notions about their economic prospects, assuming incorrectly that they would not have to work. Dropouts not only have more difficulty in finding jobs than do other girls, but also, as will be shown, secure only the lowest-paying, most menial jobs. In short, girl dropouts need attention as much as boy dropouts and should not be neglected when action programs are designed.

A nationwide study[11] supports our conclusion that dropouts, at least male dropouts, do not experience unemployment more frequently than do young high school graduates. In the national survey, approximately 18 per cent of the 1960 dropouts and 15 per cent of the 1960 graduates not enrolled in college were unemployed as of October, 1960: this was not a significant difference. The rates were approximately the same for males and females in each group. Syracuse male dropouts had a lower unemployment rate than did the male dropouts nationally, but Syracuse females had a much higher unemployment rate than female dropouts nationally. While dropouts did not experience unemployment any more frequently than did graduates, they were more often unemployed for long periods of time. This is an important factor which our study could not take into account.

---

[11] Sophia Cooper, "Employment of June 1960 High School Graduates," Monthly Labor Review (May, 1961), pp. 463-70.

The First Jobs Obtained by Dropouts

Although some dropouts do become virtual "unemployables", most are able to find some job soon after leaving school and many maintain steady employment. The disadvantage of dropping out of high school is not so much that of continuous unemployment as that of obtaining only unskilled, low-paying jobs.

When boy dropouts accepted their first jobs after leaving school, most became operatives (33 per cent) or service workers (26 per cent). The operative jobs were as assemblers, auto and parking attendants, delivery man, packer, painter, truck driver and the like. The service workers were kitchen workers, cooks, waiters, janitor and bootblack. While some operative jobs in manufacturing are highly paid, the operative jobs available to dropouts were, for the most part, of the unskilled variety and in non-manufacturing industries.

-Table 18-

Non-white dropouts were unable to obtain jobs which were available to white dropouts. Three out of ten white dropouts became white collar workers or craftsmen when they secured their first job; this was true of only one of the nine non-white dropouts.

When the first jobs of the boy dropouts were ranked according to Duncan's socio-economic scale,[12] three-quarters of them received a rating below 20; that is, dropouts were able to find only the lowest status jobs. A few whites (21 per cent) did find jobs rated at 30 or above, still relatively low scores. On the other hand, one-third of the non-whites (and only 12 per cent of the whites) were placed at the very bottom of the scale in the "below 10" category.

---

[12] .Reiss, pp. 263-75. Duncan's scale was based on male occupations, and it could not be used justifiably, therefore, to rank jobs of girl dropouts.

-Table 19-

Although the variation in jobs available to boy dropouts was slight, the first jobs open to girl dropouts were even less varied. Fully 55 per cent entered the job world as private household and service workers. Most of these girls worked with food, that is, as counter or fountain workers, kitchen workers and waitresses. More Negro than white girls (72 per cent and 43 per cent respectively) were private household and service workers in their first jobs. Only 15 per cent of the girls first became operatives; these were primarily unskilled, low-paying jobs, such as packers and dry cleaning operatives. One out of three girls, mostly white, did become clerical and sales workers.[13]

-Table 20-

No doubt the dropout does not evaluate his first job primarily in terms of socio-economic status or skill required; rather he is more likely to be interested in the wages he receives, for "take-home pay" is the most direct way in which he, his family and his peers can evaluate his performance in the adult world. The wages of dropout boys vary considerably even though four out of every ten worked for $1.25 an hour or less on their first jobs after dropping out.[14] (See Table 21.) At this wage rate one could earn, at the maximum, $50 a week or $2600 a year. This would be far below the minimum needed to support a family.

The varied income prospects of dropouts are shown in the finding that one-quarter (26%) of white male dropouts earned at least $1.76 an hour in their initial jobs. None of the nine non-whites earned more than $1.75 an hour. Consequently, the non-white pay range is more compressed than the white with a lower ceiling. A similar percentage of both races (41% white, 45% non-white) were receiving, however, less than $1.26 an hour. If the non-ascertained category is eliminated, the race differences become much greater: 42% of whites are below $1.26 an hour and 58% of non-whites, but the number of non-whites is reduced to such a small figure (7) that comparisons are unreliable.

---

[13] In a national survey (done in October, 1960) 61 per cent of the female graduates of 1960 who were not enrolled in college were employed as clerical workers, as compared with only 20 per cent of female dropouts of 1959 and 1960. The author observed that the differences between graduates and dropouts were not as great for boys as for girls. Almost equal proportions (30 per cent) of dropout and graduate boys had jobs as semi-skilled operatives. (Cooper, pp. 465, 468, A-7, A-8.)

[14] Until September, 1963, the minimum wage in New York State was $1.00 per hour; at that time it was raised to $1.25 per hour.

-Table 21-

Girls'initial wages were lower than boys': babysitters worked for only a few dollars a week; waitresses, maids and unskilled operatives received only $1.00 per hour. More white than non-white girls were in the lowest category of under a dollar an hour. A slightly higher percentage of non-whites than white girls were in the categories under $1.25 an hour--84% to 74%. The pay ranges of both groups of girls is truncated with few getting above $1.50 an hour.

Non-white girls are somewhat worse off generally. The general impression is, however, of depressed initial wage rates for all dropout girls in this community.

Some types of industries, notably retail trade, are more willing than others to hire inexperienced dropout youth, probably because of the unskilled nature of the jobs they have to offer. Approximately four out of ten dropouts (35 per cent of boys and 46 per cent of girls) began their work experience in retail trade, including eating and drinking places. See Columns 3 and 6 of Table 22.) Most of the remaining 54 per cent of girls began work in industries manufacturing nondurable goods, in personal services and in hospitals. The other 65 per cent of boys, on the other hand, were scattered in various industry groups.

-Table 22-

Dropouts did not resort to part-time jobs; either they were quickly successful in finding a full-time job, or they waited until they were. Only four of the first jobs held were for 20-36 hours a week.[15] Almost one-third of the youth, on the other hand, found a job requiring a long work week of more than 40 hours; often they were not paid for overtime.

Job Advancement

Do dropouts take the first available jobs and as they gain confidence, experience and skill progress to better jobs? The comparison of first jobs with later jobs traces the job careers of dropouts.

Most dropouts, did, in fact, leave their first job and find another. Approximately 70 per cent of all boys and 57 per cent of white girls held two to five jobs within the first two years after they left school. Most non-white girls held only one job, because child-rearing drew them out of the labor market. More than one-fourth of the boys and one-third of the white girls held three or more jobs in these two years. These job moves may indicate that these youth were not yet mature enough or experienced enough to be able to keep a job, or it may indicate that they felt a real dissatisfaction with their work and were hoping that the next job would be better.

It is possible to emphasize the job instability of the dropout youth or to stress that the overwhelming majority of dropouts, especially boys, did not change jobs more than once. Both interpretations are correct: a large grouping of dropouts are job changers, the bulk are not. It is always important to see the diversity among dropouts.

The type of first job which a youth held did not determine whether or not he would seek another. Those whose first jobs were white collar or craftsman jobs were just as likely as those who were laborers to seek a second job. The white collar jobs were not, of course, highly paid.

---

[15] Jobs requiring less than 20 hours a week were not categorized as regular jobs but only as "odd jobs". Most of these jobs occurred before the dropouts left school and would not have been included in any case.

A study of tables 18 and 20 indicates that the later jobs held by dropouts were not any better than their first jobs. While a few boys may have advanced by changing jobs, most did not, and the distribution remained very much the same for third, fourth and fifth jobs as it did for first jobs. Only one job type, apprenticeships, was previously closed to dropouts and seemed to open up for boys with work experience. No boy became an apprentice on his first job, but four did later. The percentage of white collar or craftsman jobs did not increase. Among white boys, the percentage of operative jobs increased (26 percent of first jobs, 42 percent of second jobs, and 46 percent of third, fourth and fifth jobs), and the percentage of service jobs decreased (23 percent of first jobs and 4 percent of second through fifth jobs). This may indicate upward mobility for some white dropout boys. Perhaps they are able to find semi-skilled, operative jobs later because of their previous work experience.

Among non-white boys the trends were in the direction of downward mobility. Although 56 percent of their first jobs were as operatives, only 25 percent of their third, fourth and fifth jobs were. No non-white boy was a laborer on his first job, but three out of eight were laborers on third through fifth jobs. Since the number of non-whites is small, there can be no definite conclusion, but it does seem that non-white dropouts are not able to rise above their "bottom-of-the-barrel" jobs even as they gain some work experience.

Table 19 does not reveal any increase in socio-economic ratings for white boys as they moved from their first jobs to succeeding jobs. The percentage of jobs rated 20 or above did increase from 30 percent of first jobs to 45 percent of second jobs but then decreased again to 37 percent of third, fourth and fifth jobs.

Non-whites, on the other hand, decreased in socio-economic rating from first to later jobs, due to the increase in proportion of laborers. Of the first jobs held, 33 percent were rated below 10; of the third, fourth and fifth jobs, 63 percent were rated below 10.

There were so few Negro girls who held second jobs that job progression can be investigated for white girls only. (See Table 20). The trends for white girls were the same as those for white boys; the percentage of operatives increased (18 percent of first jobs, 27 percent of second jobs and 31 percent of third and fourth jobs), and the percentage of service workers decreased (36 percent of first jobs, 32 percent of second jobs and 26 percent of third and fourth jobs). Still, most girls were clerical workers, operatives and service workers, and even within these categories only a few jobs, such as cashiers, dry cleaning operatives, packers, counter and fountain workers and waitresses, were open to girl dropouts.

Wages per hour are perhaps the most sensitive measure of job progression at the unskilled, semi-skilled job levels. (See Table 21.) The percentage of jobs of white girls which paid fairly good wages of more than $1.25 decreased from 22 percent of first jobs to 14 percent of second jobs and then increased to 32 percent of third and fourth jobs. The same trends were observed for white and for non-white boys; the percentage of jobs paying more than $1.50 decreased from 33 percent of first jobs to 24 percent of second jobs and increased to 37 percent of third, fourth and fifth jobs.[16] These trends cannot be explained; the changes are relatively small and could have easily happened by chance.

---

[16] A glance at the table would indicate that non-white boys were able to earn much higher wages at later stages in their job careers since no non-white earned more than $1.75 on his first job and three of the eight third through fifth jobs paid $2.50 or more. These three jobs, however, were all temporary construction jobs held by one American Indian boy.

These comparisons of first jobs with successive jobs lead to the conclusion that most dropouts with job experience do not have much greater opportunity for higher-level jobs than do dropouts just entering the full time labor market. Job advancement is extremely limited. The study of overall job progression, however, may obscure definite job advancement on the part of some individuals. If some individuals advance and others regress in job level, the distribution for first and later jobs would remain the same.

In order to measure individual job advancement the change in hourly wage from the first to last job was calculated for each dropout. (See Table 23.) A large number of dropouts (42 percent) did not receive an increase or decrease of more than $.15 an hour between their first and last jobs; they were at approximately the same wage level 2 years after leaving school as they were when they started their first jobs.

-Table 23-

The evidence is not discouraging, however. Many dropouts did advance above their initial wage, and the percentage who experienced increased wages (46 percent of all ascertained and 28 percent of all dropouts) was almost four times greater than the percentage who experienced decreased wages (12 percent of all ascertained and 7 percent of all dropouts). Non-whites experienced increased pay just as often as whites (44 percent and 47 percent respectively). Many more boys (60 percent) than girls (35 percent) were able to increase their wages; a majority of the girls remained at the same pay level throughout the two years.

A few (7 percent of all dropouts) increased their wages a dollar or more because of very poor wages on their first job and good wages later; among the boys more than one of ten (12 percent) experienced these large gains. Most dropouts who advanced in terms of income, however, received increased of less than $.50 (24 percent) or $.50 to $.99 (15 percent). The failure of Table 21 to give evidence of this advancement in pay on the part of several individuals results from the smallness of increases so that category changes in Table 21 were not manifested.

Wage increases between first and last jobs do not give a complete picture of job patterns of dropouts, however, since wage stability or changes in between are not revealed. The changes are not unidirectional for one individual. A youth who was categorized as receiving a decrease in pay may have held a first job which paid well for a short time only and from then on his wages remained stable or may have increased somewhat. A youth whose wages on his last job were the same as those on his first job may have received much higher wages on some job in between.

All of these factors were taken into account in rating the general job history of each dropout. (See Table 24.) The ratings were based on the type of work done, the skill and physical energy involved, the wages received and the youth's own satisfaction with his job. If a dropout held a relatively low paying job but was very pleased with the work and his associates and had no desire to change, that job was called a "good" job. No effort was made to rate those who were unemployed or out of the labor force most of the time, since they had not had a chance to establish a definite job pattern.

-Table 24-

Again there is evidence of job progression on the part of some individuals. Almost one-fifth of the boys (18 percent) were able to advance by changing jobs.

More white than non-white boys were able to advance in this way (20 percent and 9 percent respectively). Another 13 percent of boys changed jobs fairly frequently, but remained at the same wage level and in similar types of jobs; for the most part, "no advancement" meant stagnation at the lower levels of the job hierarchy. Of the 11 girls who changed jobs, eight were characterized by this "no advancement" (15 percent of all girls).

Other dropouts were able to find a satisfactory job when they first entered the labor market or soon after and were able to keep this job for a large part of the two years (24 percent of boys and 12 percent of girls). Thus, almost one-half of the boys (42 percent) and 18 percent of the girls were employed more than half of the time and either held one good job or held several increasingly better jobs. Many more white than non-white boys were in these favored occupations, 46 percent to 27 percent.[17]

Some dropouts (15 percent of boys and 13 percent of girls) held one job most of the time, even though this job paid very badly or offered a very unsatisfactory type of work. They may have held onto these jobs for security, afraid that if they quit they would find no job at all, and a poor job was better than none. The most extreme case in this group was a non-white boy, married with two children, who had been a bootblack for three years and earned only $.70 an hour; at the same time he realized that the job offered no future or security. Low-level jobs stability was more common among non-whites than whites especially for girls.

---

17. Although non-white girls do not fare as well as white girls, these results are affected by the higher percentage of non-white girls who leave the labor force.

The job histories of dropouts are varied. Some do advance by changing jobs. Others change jobs indiscriminately, without advancing, or experience severe unemployment. A large number hold onto one job most of the time, whether this job is relatively poor or relatively good, but do not advance on this job. Non-whites less often than whites find a stable, good job or advance by changing jobs. On the whole, first jobs of dropouts are very similar to later jobs.

The absence of a steady progression suggests that the term "entry job" is an euphemism. The first job for most dropouts does not provide access into an occupational structure which offers opportunity with increasing experience. The occupational structure is severly cleavaged, and the port of entry limits opportunity rather than providing an opening to a wide range of jobs.

It may be that the "entry job" as it is usually conceived is not found by a dropout until after a couple of years or more of moving from job to job. The first job may not be the "entry job", leading to further opportunities. Perhaps dropouts start their advancement at a later point in their careers than do graduates or perhaps they advance at a slower rate.

The current evidence does suggest that a few dropouts are able to advance in a short period although most secure only "dead-end" jobs. Longer-range studies are needed which compare the job histories of dropouts and graduates and which recognize different types of dropouts and graduates. Neither group is homogeneous in social, psychological or educational background and consequently the job experiences of dropouts are not all of the same kind and are not easily differentiated from the job experiences of all graduates.

A General Picture of the Jobs Available to Dropouts

Since the first and later jobs held by dropouts are essentially similar, it is legitimate to group them all together in order to get a general picture of what kinds of jobs are open to dropouts.

As previously noted, not all industries were willing to hire young people who do not possess a high school diploma. Manufacturing industries, which frequently pay good wages, employed relatively few dropouts: 31 per cent of the city's employed and only 13 per cent of the dropouts' jobs were in these industries. (See columns 1, 2 and 5 of Table 22.) *Retail trade was the industry group most in need of the unskilled, inexpensive labor of dropouts.* Only 15 per cent of the city's employed but 26 per cent of boy dropouts' jobs and 46 per cent of girl dropouts' jobs were in this industry. Construction supplied a relatively large number of boys' jobs (14 per cent), as did business and repair services (12 per cent). These two industries employ but 4 per cent and 2 per cent respectively of all Syracuse workers. Personal services provide jobs for only 5 per cent of the city's employed, but 17 per cent of girl dropouts' jobs were in this category.

The specific industries in which several female dropouts were employed were low price variety stores (15 per cent of the 91 girls' jobs), eating and drinking places (13 per cent), general merchandise retailing (5 per cent), apparrel and accessories stores (5 per cent), private households (7 per cent), dry cleaning establishments (7 per cent) and hospitals (10 per cent). The jobs of boy dropouts were in a greater variety of industries. Only four specific types of businesses provided 5 per cent or more of the boys' jobs: eating and drinking places (7 per cent), garages and service stations (6 per cent), hospitals (5 per cent), and construction (14 per cent).

The industries which do employ dropouts offer them unskilled jobs for the most part. The male dropout, even in comparison with other boys of his age, is disadvantaged in the types of jobs which he is able to obtain. This is true in spite of the rather small differences between dropouts and other male youth in unemployment rates. Columns 1 and 2 of Table 25 indicate that the percentage of white collar workers is similar for all employed males in Syracuse and for males 18-24 years old in the standard metropolitan area (42 per cent and 36 per cent respectively), but only 16 per cent of the dropouts' jobs could be called white collar. Neither did dropouts become craftsmen as often as did other workers (9 per cent of dropouts, 14 per cent of employed males 18-24 and 19 per cent of all employed males). Dropouts were twice as often operatives as were all employed males (38 per cent and 19 per cent), but most of these jobs were in non-manufacturing industries and paid very little. Dropouts also held more than their share of service jobs (17 per cent of dropouts' jobs as compared with 8 per cent of all employed males) and laborer jobs (20 per cent of dropouts' jobs and 6 per cent of all employed males).

-Table 25-

The above statements refer to the gross occupational classifications. The specific jobs held by male dropouts were quite varied, however; only two categories supplied more than 5 per cent of the jobs: kitchen workers (6 per cent) and auto and parking attendants (6 per cent) (See Table 18). Non-white males were not employed as white collar workers or craftsmen, whereas 30 per cent of the jobs of white males were in these categories. Non-whites, on the other hand, were service workers more often than whites (36 per cent of non-whites' jobs and 12 per cent of whites' jobs). Obviously the Negro dropout is more disadvantaged in the labor market than is his white counterpart.

Although 16 jobs (19 per cent) of the white males were classified as white collar, this should not be taken to indicate that some dropouts are in very good positions. One boy who quit at the end of the twelfth grade held the three best jobs as draftsman. Two other jobs were held while in military service only. Two more were held only a few weeks. The jobs, office boy, shipping and receiving clerk and the like, involve some paper work but also much manual work. A steady craftsman or operative job would be superior to these white collar jobs, except that of draftsman, in terms of pay and security, and the fact that one-fifth of the jobs of white males were white collar should not be stressed.

The dropout girls were disadvantaged in their job-seeking as were boys. Only one-fifth of their jobs were clerical jobs, in spite of the fact that young girls, more than older women, secure these jobs (52 per cent of females, 18-24, in the standard metropolitan area and 34 per cent of all employed females in Syracuse). (See Table 25 columns 3, 7 and 8.) At least some dropout girls, however, found clerical jobs normally reserved for graduates. Dropout girls were four times more likely to be operatives than were all employed females 18 to 24 years old (24 per cent and 6 per cent respectively); similarly they held four times as many service jobs (38 per cent of dropouts' jobs and 9 per cent of employed females 18-24). They were five times more likely to be waitresses or fountain workers; one-fifth of all girl dropouts' jobs were of this type as compared with 4 per cent of employed females 18-24. Other specific jobs which were held by large numbers of girl dropouts were packers and wrappers (10 per cent), dry cleaning operatives (7 per cent), kitchen workers (6 per cent), baby sitters (6 per cent) and sales clerks (9 per cent). (See Table 20).

Non-white girls did not obtain white collar jobs as often as did white girls; 13 per cent of non-whites' jobs and 35 per cent of whites' jobs were clerical and sales jobs. More non-white than white girls were service workers (60 per cent and 32 per cent respectively), but 13 of the 14 waitress jobs went to whites, whereas 5 of the 6 kitchen workers were non-whites. The intention of keeping the non-whites out of jobs which require meeting the public is obvious.

The socio-economic ratings of all boys' jobs were very low, as were the ratings of their first jobs. Fully 92 per cent of non-whites' jobs and 63 per cent of whites' jobs were rated below 20. (See Table 19.) Almost one-fourth of the jobs of white boys were rated above 30, but even these ratings did not run very high. That only one job held by a non-white was rated above 30 indicates that even at the unskilled--semi-skilled job level Negroes face great obstacles.

Since the wages received by dropouts were generally very low, they did not vary by race to any degree. (See Table 21.) Among the girls, 77 per cent of both whites and non-whites were earning $1.25 per hour or less. Among boys, more non-whites than whites were earning $1.25 or less (48 per cent of non-whites and 34 per cent of whites), but equal proportions (15-16 per cent) were earning more than $2.00. Some boys were able to earn adequate wages, but of all boys' jobs, white or non-white, approximately 60 per cent paid $1.50 or less.

Whites and non-whites of both sexes were able to find full-time jobs. Most jobs (56 per cent) required 36 to 40 hours of work per week; another 32 per cent involved more than 40 hours a week, often without pay for overtime. Although 7 per cent of the jobs were less than a full-time, 36-40 hour work week, some of these jobs were baby sitting and some were held while the dropout finished his education in day or night school.

Dropouts held their jobs for relatively short periods; three-fifths of the jobs were held only six months or less. Another one-fifth were held 7-18 months, but fewer than one-fifth (16 per cent) were held more than one and one-half years. There is some indication that Negroes held their jobs for longer periods than did whites, but the differences were too small to be significant.

The high degree of job mobility does not support, however, the belief that dropouts cannot hold jobs due to immaturity and lack of skill. It is more likely that the dropout is searching for a job which is suitable to him in terms of pay and interest, a job with which he can identify occupationally. Normally the dropout leaves the school setting with little orientation about the occupational world. Neither does he have a specific skill or special training which will direct his job-seeking energies. His confusion is heightened by the loss of his student identity and an immediate need to find a substitute. He needs to be able to say to himself and to others, "I am a barber." or "I work at G. E." Because of his ignorance of the world of work, his lack of skill, his concentration in jobs with little employment stability, and his need to find something with which he gets a "fit", it is probably necessary that he should "shop around" for a suitable job for some years.

Data on why dropouts left their jobs do not support the contention that employers soon fire them because they cannot handle the job. Boys reported that they were fired from only 10 per cent of all jobs which they held; these jobs were the first or second ones they held after leaving school. Boys quit almost four of every ten jobs, on the other hand. The percentage of jobs quit decreased from 46 per cent of first jobs to 30 per cent of third, fourth and fifth jobs. In most cases a boy did not leave one of his later jobs on his own initiative.

-Table 26-

Boys were laid off from approximately four out of every ten jobs which they held. Some of the jobs were only temporary or seasonal. Others ended when work slowed down or when a company moved to another location or went out of business. It may be true that dropouts are "last hired, first fired," but a more likely explanation is that many jobs which they are able to find are inherently insecure. The more permanent jobs, as well as the better-paying ones, are reserved for older or more educated persons.

Girls quit most of the jobs they held (62 per cent), often because of marriage and pregnancy. They were laid off from all but one of the other jobs (36 per cent); the reasons given for being laid off were the same as those given by the boys: temporary job, lack of work, company went out of business.

There were no significant differences between whites and non-whites of either sex in percentage of jobs which they quit or from which they were laid off or fired.

How Dropouts Found Their Jobs

Many of the programs designed to aid dropouts concentrate on teaching them how to find jobs, believing that this is central to their employment difficulties. In order to discover if dropouts were unaware of job-searching procedures, they were asked what sources they used in finding a particular job. In addition, information was available on registration with the New York State Employment Service.

The public employment service played a relatively minor role in the dropouts' job seeking experiences. More than one-half (52 percent) registered with the State Employment Service, but only 35 percent of these (18 percent of all dropouts) were placed on a job by the agency. Of all jobs held by dropouts, only 10 percent were secured through the State Employment Service. (See Table 27.) Private employment agencies played a less important role, providing only 5 percent of all dropouts' jobs. Boys were more likely to use the New York State Employment Service than were girls, and they used it more for later jobs than earlier jobs.

-Table 27 here-

Unofficial means of finding jobs were most frequently used: direct application (25 percent of all jobs), friends (27 percent) and relatives(17 percent). Girls used direct application more frequently than did boys.

There was little change in importance of direct application in finding different stage jobs.

Unofficial means of job-seeking may be as efficient as the employment agency for the school dropouts.[18] The types of jobs available to dropouts may not be listed at the agency. Unskilled jobs are often filled by friends or relatives of current employees or by persons who apply directly at the company. The same jobs will be open or closed to dropouts whether the dropout learns this from the employment agency or through other means. At present the only advantage of the public employment agency to dropouts is counseling by a trained person who can tell them where to look for a job. A dropout with experience in job-hunting or with experienced parents may not even need this advice. If the public employment agency hopes to aid dropouts it must make an effort to persuade employers to use the agency when filling unskilled jobs and to accept dropouts for certain clerical or semi-skilled jobs which they could learn in a short time even though they do not possess the formal qualification of a high school diploma.

---

[18] Lloyd Reynolds makes the same point in his The Structure of Labor Markets (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), pp. 43-75.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF DROPOUTS WITH FAVORABLE EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE

Although most dropouts secured only low-status jobs, there was considerable variation in work experience. Three of every ten white males secured first jobs as white collar workers or craftsmen. Three out of ten girls had first jobs as clerical or sales workers. The initial wages received by boys varied from less than $1.00 to more than $2.00. Some youth were employed continuously since leaving school; others maintained only sporadic employment. Some advanced in skill and wages as they changed jobs; others moved from one poorly-paid, unskilled job to another.

If there is to be effective planning to aid the dropout on the labor market, it is imperative to know which dropouts fare relatively well in their job seeking and why others fail. Only race and sex have been investigated consistently in this paper as possible factors in the variable employment experiences of dropouts. Family and social background, educational achievement and age may also affect the level at which the dropout enters the labor force and the rapidity of his progress.

Age and Grade Achievement

A Syracuse dropout may have completed only eighth grade or less when he left school, or he may have completed eleventh grade and most of twelfth. He may have been as young as 15 or as old as 20. On these two characteristics, then, there was considerable variation. When an employer is contemplating hiring a young person whose skills and responsibility are yet untried, he is likely to take these two factors--age and grade achievement--into consideration. It has already been reported that boys who were 16 or younger when they left school took longer to find their first job than did those at least 17 years old. In this instance age, rather than grade achievement, was the determining factor.

There was no relationship between age or grade at dropout and the socio-economic rating of a boy's first job. (See Tables 28 and 29.) Boys who were 17 or older and boys who completed grades 10 or 11 more frequently than other boys found a job rated 30 or above, but they also more frequently found jobs which were rated at the bottom of the scale, that is below 10. Perhaps the socio-economic rating is not a sensitive measure of job level when most of the jobs fall in the bottom third of the scale.

-Table 28-

-Table 29-

Another measure of job level, wages per hour, did show a relationship with age and grade at dropout. Boys who completed grades 10 or 11 before leaving school more often began work at $1.76 an hour or more than did boys who completed grades 9 or less (40 percent and 11 percent respectively). (See Table 30.) Girls who completed grades 10 or 11 more often than other girls earned $1.26 - $1.75 and less often earned $1.25 or less. The overwhelming majority of all girls, however, received no more than $1.25.

-Table 30-

As the age at dropout increased, the percentage of boys earning a starting wage of more than $1.75 per hour increased. (See Table 31.) At the same time, the percentage earning $1.25 or less decreased as age of dropout increased. The relationship was not as striking for girls, but girls who were 16 or younger did not fare nearly as well as older girls. Nine out of ten of these younger girls began work at $1.25 or less, as compared with six of ten girls age 17 and seven of ten girls age 18 or older.

-Table 31-

Age and grade at dropout are interrelated, that is, most dropouts who completed grades 10 or 11 were 17 or older when they left school. Either factor or both may be operating to affect the initial wages of dropouts. The relationship between beginning wages and grade completion was investigated with age held constant. While the numbers were small in all categories, it did appear that grade was the more important factor in determining wages received on the first job.

Do age and grade have a continuing effect on the work experience of dropouts? After a couple of years most dropouts have had work experience, and this experience may be more valued by the employer than grade achievement in school. Also, at this time most dropouts will be at least 18 years old, and above a certain age level a few years age differential may not be important The older, more scholastically advanced dropout, on the other hand, may have a head start on his first job and be able to remain at higher levels than the others. Some dropouts received more training in day or night school, the armed forces, business school or on the job. Perhaps this additional training affected their wage levels and socio-economic ratings.

The evidence is that even two years after leaving school a boy's chances of getting a good job are greatly increased by completing as much of high school as possible. (See Table 32.) Of the eight boys who had completed at least grade 11 by the time of the interview, five (63 percent)were earning more than $2.00 an hour when they were interviewed. This compares with 25 percent of those boys who completed grades 9 or 10 and 11 percent of those who went no further than grade 8. As grade level increased, median wage level increased: $1.26 - $1.50 for those completing grade 8 or less, $1.51 - $2.00

for those completing grades 9 or 10, and more than $2.00 for those completing grades 11 or 12.

-Table 32-

Completing grade 11 or 12 also meant a higher socio-economic rating. Fully 55 percent of the nine more educated boys had jobs rated at 30 or above, compared with 8 percent of all other boys. None of these nine boys had a job rated below 10.

-Table 33-

Older youth (20 - 23 years of age) were relatively advantaged, but the effects of age were not as striking as those of completing at least grade 11. Of those boys who were at least 20 years old at the time of the interview, 41 percent were earning more than $2.00 an hour; only 18 percent of the younger boys were at this wage level. There was no evidence that age affected the socio-economic rating of the job a boy held at the time of the interview.

The age of a girl was not a factor in the wages she received at the time of the interview; approximately three-quarters of all girls were earning $1.50 an hour or less. While age was not important, completing grade 10 or more increased a girl's chances of earning more than $1.25 an hour (54 percent of girls completing at least grade 10 and 38 percent of girls completing no more than grade 9). (See Table 32.)

Even as a dropout grows older his educational achievement continues to affect the type of job he finds and the wages he receives. Although a youth is handicapped if he does not graduate from high school, his job chances are improved if he approaches as near graduation as possible. Grade achievement is more important than age both in securing a first job and in later work experience. Because the types of jobs open to girls are few and the wage scale for girls is greatly compressed (most earn $1.00-$1.50 and hour) neither age nor grade is as important a factor for girls as for boys in determining their initial or later work experience.

Contacts with Police

Having had at least one contact with the police did not affect in any way the type of job a boy held at the time of the interview. As previously noted, however, those who had some police record were unemployed more frequently (30 percent) than were those without a record (12 percent). The relationship held with race controlled.

Employment Before Leaving School

Youth who had some work experience before leaving school began work more quickly after dropping out than did other youth. Employment experience while still in school also increased the chances for boys of starting work at $1.76 or more per hour and for girls at $1.26 - $1.75 an hour. (See Table 34.) White and non-white girls and white boys benefited from pre-dropout employment; the number of non-white boys was too small to draw a conclusion in this regard.

-Table 34-

Being employed while still in school did not affect the type of job a girl first secured upon entering the labor force. Among boys, however, those with work experiance more often became craftsmen, operatives or laborers on their first jobs and less often became white collar or service workers. Whether these results happened by chance or whether these jobs are more often opened to experienced males is not determined.

Family and Social Background

It was hypothesized that a dropout whose parents ranked high on an index of social background would be more likely to enter the labor market as white collar workers or craftsmen and would less often begin as laborers or service workers.

Parents with a relatively high social status may be able to advise their children how to find jobs. They are more often able to influence employers to hire their youngsters, and they may influence their son or daughter in the type of job he or she seeks.

The five indicators of social background were: socio-economic area of residence,[19] father's occupation, father's education, mother's education, and social welfare history of parents. Each variable was cross-tabulated with types of first jobs held by dropouts. The results were ambiguous. Some variables correlated with type of first job; others did not. Some correlated for girls, but not for boys, or vice versa.

Although residence in the better socio-economic areas, I - IV, did seem to increase the chances a boy would get a better job, the results were not consistent. (See Table 35.) Boys who lived in the top four socio-economic areas more frequently began work as white collar employees or as craftsmen (39 percent) than did boys who lived in area V (16 percent). Almost one-half of area V boys (48 percent) were hired as operatives, as compared with 11 percent of other boys. Curiously, most of the laborers, usually considered very low status workers, were from the top four areas as were most of the white collar workers and craftsmen. There was no relationship between socio-economic area and type of first job of girls.

---

[19] Only 18 boys and 22 girls lived in the top four socio-economic areas, I-IV. In cross-tabulating with other variables, therefore, it was necessary to group these four areas together in order to have groups of boys and girls large enough for comparison with area V boys and girls. It is realized that this gross categorization may obscure many social differences among the "upper level" dropouts, but a more thorough analysis is impossible without a larger sample.

-Table 35-

It was predicted that dropouts whose fathers were high school graduates would have better chances of beginning work in white collar or craftsman jobs, since the fathers were more likely to have such jobs. So few fathers graduated (only 12) that an adequate test of the hypothesis was not possible. From the available evidence, there seemed to be no relationship between father's education and type of first job held by boys or girls.

Only 12 of the mothers were known to be high school graduates, making it impossible to test any relationship with this variable. It can be stated, however, that sons of seven graduate mothers had jobs very similar to sons of the dropout mothers. Of the five daughters of graduate mothers, two were white collar workers, as compared with 23 percent of girls with dropout mothers.

Father's occupation did not correlate in the expected direction with type of first job of girls. Daughters of service workers and laborers were most frequently white collar workers and least frequently service workers and laborers (Table 36.) Among boys, sons of service workers and laborers found jobs similar to those of sons of white collar workers and craftsmen. Only sons of operatives differed in that they were most often service workers and least often operatives. The implications of these data are unclear.

-Table 36-

Boys whose parents had public welfare records did not differ from other boys in types of jobs they obtained upon leaving school. (See Table 37.) Differences were more pronounced for girls. Those girls whose families had not received public welfare entered the labor force more often than girls with welfare families as white collar workers (36 percent and 20 percent respectively) and less often as service workers (41 percent and 67 percent respectively).

-Table 37-

Of the five indicators of social background, two (father's and mother's education) could not be used because of the small number of graduate parents. None of the other three correlated with type of first job for both boys and girls. Only one (socio-economic area) showed some relationship for boys. One correlated in the expected direction for girls (welfare record of family), and one correlated in the opposite direction (father's occupation). Perhaps if age, sex, grade level at dropout and similar variables could be controlled, the impact of family background factors on job possibilities could be demonstrated. Our small number of cases prevents such comparisons. The impact of the present data is that social background has little effect on the type of job a dropout is able to obtain when he leaves school and begins full time work.

Although school dropouts from all social levels seemed to secure the same types of jobs, as classified by the Census of Occupations, perhaps the jobs available to dropouts from the lower social levels were inferior in other ways. There is some evidence that dropouts from the lower social levels held more jobs during the first two years after leaving school and that they applied for more jobs during the year preceding the interview. This observation may indicate that their jobs were inherently insecure, that they were hired for a short period or during peak seasons only to be laid off when work slowed down. It may indicate, also, that the jobs available to them were less satisfactory in other ways,--dirtier, lower pay, longer hours, heavy work, and so on; even dropouts would be hesitant to accept such jobs and quite willing to leave them if something better turned up. Another interpretation is possible: that all jobs available to dropouts were similar and that dropouts from the lower social levels were simply less capable and less steady workers; because they were less acceptable fewer jobs were open to them and they were laid off on any excuse if they did not quit first. Interpretation is very difficult, but a high rate of job mobility and difficulty in finding jobs point to work achievement that is unsatisfactory in some way.

As with type of first job, each of the two job mobility indicators--number of jobs held and number of jobs applied for--was cross-tabulated with each of the five indices of social class. The results were not entirely consistent but pointed largely in the direction suggested above, that lower level dropouts held and applied for more jobs.

So few fathers and mothers graduated that it was impossible to determine whether or not parents' education affected a youth's job mobility.

No strong relationship existed between socio-economic area of residence and number of jobs held in two years (Table 38). More boys from areas I-IV held four or five jobs, but fewer held three jobs. Equal percentages of boys from areas I-IV and area V held three to five jobs (28 percent). In contrast, no boys from areas I-IV had never held a job, while this was true of 11 percent of area V boys.[20] Approximately equal proportions of area V girls and girls from areas I-IV held two or more jobs (37 percent and 41 percent respectively). More area I-IV girls than area V girls had never held a job (18 percent to 10 percent).

-Table 38-

Sons of service workers and laborers held the largest number of jobs; 40 percent held three to five jobs, as compared with 22 percent of other boy dropouts (Table 39). Again the boys who never worked were from the lowest social levels, that is they were sons of a service worker and a laborer.

---

[20] Of the three boys who never worked, two were mentally retarded and one could not find a job.

-Table 39-

Girls who never worked, on the other hand, were more frequent in the upper social levels, as measured by father's occupation. All but one of the girls who never worked had children shortly after leaving school; with the exception of one unwed mother who was supported by her store-keeper father, these girls married, were supported by their husbands and settled into the role of housewife. The one girl who did not have a child returned to night school and was supported by her parents. Lower class girls who leave school due to pregnancy, especially Negro girls, are less often married; they have to work at least part of the time to support themselves and their child. This may explain why daughters of service workers and laborers most frequently held one job (71 percent, as compared with 41 percent of other girls).

If the girls who did not work are excluded from table 39, approximately equal proportions of each group of girls had one or two jobs in the two year period (69 percent of daughters of white collar workers or craftsmen, 73 percent of operatives' daughters and 71 percent of daughters of service workers and laborers). Although the relationship between father's occupation and number of jobs held by girls was slight, it was in a direction opposite to that for boys; among girls, daughters of service workers and laborers least frequently held two or more jobs. Undoubtedly pregnancy and parenthood are more important factors in the job shifting of girls than is social class.

Dropouts whose parents had received public welfare assistance held more jobs in their first two years out of school than did other dropouts (Table 40). More boys from welfare families held two or more jobs (87 percent) than did boys from non-welfare families (52 percent). More girls from welfare families held three or more jobs (36 percent) than did non-welfare girls (11 percent).

-Table 40-

That dropouts from the lower social classes held more jobs in a two-year period was supported for boys by cross-tabulations with father's occupation and family welfare record. It was supported for girls by welfare record only; the relationship with father's occupation was slight but in the opposite direction.

Application for a large number of jobs in the past year may indicate dissatisfaction with one's job or with the jobs available or difficulty in finding a job. Failure to apply for any job at all may indicate satisfaction with one's present job, lethargy in seeking a better position, or non-labor-force status. It is thus difficult to interpret the results.

One quarter of the boys who lived in the lowest socio-economic area, V, applied for more than 50 jobs in one year; this compares with 8 percent of boys from areas I-IV (Table 41). Socio-economic area of residence did not affect the number of jobs for which girls applied.

-Table 41-

Boys and girls whose parents had received welfare less frequently applied for no jobs (22 percent of boys and 40 percent of girls) than did those whose parents had no welfare record (44 percent of boys, 57 percant of girls).

-Table 42-

Curiously, sons of service workers and laborers most often applied for no jobs (50 percent); this compares with 24 percent of other boy dropouts. (See Table 43). This information is contradictory to that provided by cross-tabulations with welfare record and socio-economic area, which show that boy dropouts from the lower social levels most often apply for a large number of jobs. No relationship between father's occupation and number of jobs girls applied for was discernible.

-Table 43-

To summarize, boys and girls whose families had been on welfare held more jobs and applied for more jobs. In these families there may be more financial pressure and a real need for the youth to go to work. No other indicator of social status yielded such consistent evidence. Socio-economic area only related to the number of jobs for which boys applied; those from the lowest area, V, applied for many more jobs. Cross-tabulation with father's occupation showed that lower level boys would hold more jobs but apply for fewer jobs and that lower level girls would hold fewer jobs. There seems to be somewhat more job mobility and perhaps more difficulty in finding jobs among dropouts from lower social levels; the relationship is strongest for boys. The evidence is however, neither overwhelming nor consistent.

The overall evidence regarding the effects of social background on job achievement of dropouts is ambiguous. Part of the difficulty lies in the insensitivity of the indicators of social status and of the bunching of dropouts at the lower end of each social scale.

Marital and Parental Status

Two major new roles open up for dropouts after they leave school,--employment and marriage--parenthood. The assumption of one role may be affected by the assumption of or success in the other. Girls with children, for instance, are taken out of the labor force for a time at least. Boys may not venture to marry unless they secure somewhat better jobs than do most dropouts. Marriage may, on the other hand, induce boys to change jobs less frequently in order to maintain some security. Although parenthood may be as much a determining factor as marriage per se, it was not possible to control for parental status due to the small number of married boys (15).

The evidence is not at all clear that married male dropouts are more steady workers than single male dropouts. In support of the stability hypothesis is the fact that one-half of the married boys and only 28 percent of single boys had held their current job (that is, the one held at the time of the interview) more than one and one-half years. (See Table 44.) In conflict, is the evidence that more married boys (25 percent) than single boys (14 percent) held their current job for a very short period of one month or less. Of the six married boys who held their jobs for a long period of 19 or more months, five had children. Parenthood, rather than marriage, induced a boy to keep his job for some time.[21]

-Table 44-

Single boys, rather than married boys, were less likely to hold three or more jobs in the two-year period after leaving school (23 percent of unmarried and 40 percent of married male dropouts). (See Table 45.) Approximately equal percentages (23 percent and 27 percent) held only one job in the two-year period, however. Because of the contradictory evidence (between Tables 44 and 45) it is not possible to conclude whether or not marriage affects the job mobility of a male dropout.

-Table 45-

Girls who married and had children most frequently held no jobs in the first two years after dropping out (33 percent); eight of the ten unwed mothers, on the other hand, held one job in the two years (Table 45). The unwed mothers, while removed from the labor force much of the time, had no husbands to support them and all but one worked on at least one job. Married girls without children were somewhat more mobile in employment than other girls; 40 percent held three or more jobs, as compared with 23 percent of single girls without children and 16 percent of girls with children. It should be noted that marriage by no means removed girls from the labor force; of the 25 married girls, 10 (40 percent) held two or more jobs within the two-year period following dropout.

---

[21] It was not possible to cross-tabulate marital and parental status of girls with length of time on current job, type of job held or wages received at the time of the interview because only 21 girls were then employed.

Since most dropouts receive relatively low wages and secure low-status jobs, it was hypothesized that dropout boys would not assume the responsibilities of marriage unless they earned somewhat more than most dropouts. Some married boys, with or without children, did have slightly better jobs in that one-quarter of them (and 5 percent of single boys) were craftsmen (Table 46). Most married and single boys, however, were operatives, service workers or laborers. A larger percentage of married boys than of single boys (42 percent and 24 percent respectively) were earning more than $2.00 an hour at the time of the interview, but approximately equal percentages were earning $1.50 or less (Table 47).

-Table 46-

-Table 47-

The effects of marriage on employment experience of dropout boys are slight. Parenthood may make a boy less willing to leave his job, but marriage per se seems to have little effect on job mobility. Neither does marriage occur because of favorable employment experience. While some married male dropouts were relatively well-off financially, most were earning no more than single male dropouts.

Parents' Marital Status

A large number of dropouts (44 percent of boys and 39 percent of girls) came from homes broken by separation, divorce or death. It was hypothesized that these youngsters would be less able to achieve satisfactory job stability. There was some evidence to support this notion.[22]

Male dropouts from broken homes less frequently than other male dropouts (8 percent and 35 percent respectively) held their current job more than two years (Table 48). More of those from broken families held their job only one month or less (38 percent of boys from broken homes and 5 percent from unbroken homes). The differences appeared only at the extremes of the scale; the distributions for both groups were quite similar in the middle of the scale, ranging from 5 weeks to two years on the current job.

-Table 48-

Boys from broken homes were no more likely than other boys to hold three or more jobs in the first two years following dropout (30 percent and 27 percent). (See Table 49.) Boys from broken homes, however, more frequently held two jobs and less frequently held only one job in the two-year period. Surprisingly, 12 percent of boys from intact homes had held no jobs while all boys of broken homes had held at least one job.

Undoubtedly more than one factor affects the job stability of a dropout,--parents' marital status, race, social background, youth's parental status and perhaps type of job among others. A multiple factor analysis is impossible with such a small sample; the important point is that dropouts very in all aspects of their work experiences, including job mobility and stability.

---

[22] To determine the effects of parents' marital status for girls on the two variables indicating job stability--length of time on current job and number of jobs in two years it would be necessary to control for the girl's marital and parental status. The small size of the female sample made this impossible, and the results are reported for boys only.

POST-DROPOUT EXPERIENCE OF GIRLS

Although every effort was made to include girls in the analysis of work experiences of dropouts, frequently they had to be omitted because of the special character of their situation. The percentage of time employed, for example, would indicate not only the length of time that girls were unemployed, but also whether or not they had been out of the labor force because of pregnancy and child-caring. If a girl's post-dropout position in the labor market is to be accessed, it must be in relation to her assumption of family responsibilities. This section attempts to round out the picture of post-dropout experiences of female school-leavers.

Several patterns of post-dropout activity were discerned. The first seven patterns include married girls and unwed mothers: (1) white girls who worked steadily until they had a child and then quit, hoping never to work again; (2) white girls who worked until marriage and hoped to return to work; (3) whites who had never worked because they had children soon after leaving school; (4) non-whites who combined child-rearing and work; (5)non-whites with children who rejected motherhood and wanted to work; (6) unwed mothers, mostly non-white, who were supported by their parents and had little desire to work; (7) non-white, married girls, contented with housekeeping, but realizing they will have to work eventually. The last four patterns include all single girls without children: (8) those who returned to school with parental support; (9) those who worked no more than a couple of weeks; (10) those who worked occasionally, and (11) those who worked steadily since leaving school.

The most frequent pattern is for a girl to work steadily until her first child arrives and then to quit work with the hope that this ends her participation in the world of work. No non-whites but eight white, married girls and four single, white girls had either conformed to this pattern or planned to. When asked what they hoped to be doing five years from now, all but one of these 12 girls replied, "have a family." Only one planned to work when her child was in school. Few desired further education. They hoped to remain out of the labor force permanently, even though all twelve had worked at least 75 per cent of the time since leaving school and some had held fairly good office jobs, such as typist, biller or payroll clerk. It is difficult to judge whether or not their aspirations were realistic. Of the eight husbands of these white girls, four were white collar workers and craftsmen and two were in the armed forces. It may be that they could support their families adequately without depending on their wives' employment.

Two additional white girls varied this pattern slightly; they quit work when they were married, rather than waiting until they had children. Both later had children and would like to work now.

Some girls were forced to leave school due to pregnancy and never had the opportunity to work before having a child. Three married, white girls fit this category; all hope to work eventually, perhaps in the near future, although none has worked.

Interestingly, among married white girls, those who have been successful in maintaining steady employment, often at good white-collar jobs, hope to marry, have children and forget about work. Those girls who have not worked a great deal, due to early pregnancy or ceasing work upon marriage, do plan to work eventually.

Of the 19 Negro girls, 14 had children; nine of these were unwed mothers, and another was separated from her husband.

Five of the Negro girls with children (including two who were married) continued to work after becoming mothers. This pattern was not found among whites, except for two white girls who worked for just a short time after having a child. Two of the five non-white girls who worked after motherhood returned to school and graduated while working part-time. All had completed at least the tenth grade before leaving school, and two returned to school and graduated while working part-time. Three had plans for further training in office skills, and four wanted to be secretaries. These girls had a good deal of self-confidence, and even though they worked, they enjoyed their motherhood; only one girl rejected it. When asked what they hoped to be doing five years from now, two thought only of caring for their family, but three spoke in terms of their careers.

There were seven non-white girls with children including six unwed mothers, who had worked only two, three, or four months since leaving school. Three of these girls felt very much depressed and tied down by their children. They had few friends and little recreation; they desperately wanted to work.

In spite of motherhood, three non-white unwed mothers were still immersed in teen-age culture. They were supported by their parents, they dated and had many friends. They expected to work sometime, but were not at all anxious to do so. (The seventh non-white mother could not be classified into either of the above two categories, since she did not admit having children in the interview.)

Two married, non-white girls with children were involved with their husband, children and housekeeping and were contented with their position. Both had worked for some time before becoming full-time housewives, and both planned to return to work eventually because they would need the money. They did not, however, have high job aspirations. These two girls were like the first group of white girls in that they experienced initial steady employment but like the second group of white girls in that they planned to work in the future.

Two single, white girls returned to night school and did not plan to work until they graduated. Their parents supported them financially, and in most respects they still assumed the role of an in-school teenager.

Single girls without children have no obvious barriers to steady employment, but many were unemployed a good deal of the time. Four white girls (and no non-whites) worked only a few weeks in all. Two were pregnant at the time of the interview, but they did not even work prior to this, except at short-term jobs. Three of these four girls expressed motherhood as their only goal five years from now.

Seven other girls without children, four whites and three non-whites, maintained only occasional employment. All of these girls held at least two jobs; none of the jobs involved any skill or paid more than minimal wages. All but two of the seven girls had been two years retarded in school: they were successful neither in school nor in employment. All were able to list several friends, especially girlfriends. The aspirations of these girls five years from now were ascertained for only five; two non-white girls thought in terms of work, but three white girls wanted marriage or a certain type of job.

Eight single girls, six whites and two non-whites, experienced steady employment, that is, they were employed at least 75 percent of the time since dropping out of school. Only one had a white collar job. These girls were self-confident and personable. Four of them hoped for some additional technical training. When asked what they hoped to be doing five years from now, four girls wanted a definite type of job and had no plans for marriage, the other four, all whites, only wanted a family.

Why some single girls worked steadily, others sporadically, and others not at all was not ascertained. Educational and social background did not seem to be factors; perhaps the self-evaluations of these girls and their expectations for the future affected their motivations to find and keep a job. Among married girls, race definitely affected whether or not a girl was working or planned to work.

The post-dropout experiences of girls were varied; most, however, were in the labor market for at least part of the two years following dropout, and many will return to work when their children are older. Non-white girls usually realized that they will have to work eventually to contribute to family finances. White girls, on the other hand, frequently expected to leave the labor force permanently when they were married or had children. It is likely these girls were underestimating the chances that they would work, since few would marry skilled, highly-paid men. Perhaps these girls are denying a difficult future, or they are hopeful about it or they do not think about the future seriously.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has important limitations. The number of subjects studied was small (98), and they were not chosen on a strictly random basis from the total population of 1959-60 school droupouts of Syracuse, New York.[23] Furthermore, since only dropouts in one urban, New York State community were studied, the conclusions may hold only for this community. Local studies, however, have the advantage over extensive national studies in specifying the local industrial base and peculiar social conditions that can affect who drops out of school and the post-school work opportunities of dropouts. National studies tend to overlook the importance of variations from one area to another in dropouts and their work experiences.

This study is also limited in that the jobs secured by dropouts were not compared with those secured by graduates in a similar time span; such comparison would be essential to an adequate appraisal of the handicaps imposed by early-school-leaving. A few national studies have done this,[24] and in this report an attempt was made in this direction by comparing droupouts' jobs with jobs of all youth ages 18-22 in the community. This was not, of course, a comparison of dropouts and graduates, but an estimate of the position of dropouts relative to the entire age group.

---

[23] See "The Sample", pages 2-3.

[24] Two are: Sophia Cooper, "Employment of June 1960 High School Graduates", Monthly Labor Review (May, 1961), pp. 463-70 and United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, School and Early Employment Experience of Youth, Bulletion No. 1277, Washington D.C.: the Department, August,1960.

Even a comparison of dropouts and graduates would be inadequate unless the social class of both groups was controlled. The dropouts in our sample, especially the non-white dropouts, were frequently from the lower social ranks: six-tenths lived in the lowest socio-economic area; more than one-half of their families had been public welfare recipients, and four-fifths of their fathers were blue-collar workers. Graduates, as a group, rank above dropouts socially.[25] If graduates experience superior employment opportunities, it may not be due to their more extensive education but to certain class correlates, such as the "ability" to make a "good imression" on prospective employers, or the availability of social contacts, or the advice of more "worldly" parents. In short, we need to know if most dropouts obtain only low-level jobs because of (1) their youth and limited opportunities for all youth, whether dropouts or graduates; (2) the disadvantages of a lower-or working-class background, characteristic of many dropouts, or (3) their lack of a high school diploma and marketable skills. Are lower-class graduates handicapped in the labor market in the same ways that dropouts are? Are all youth handicapped to some extant by their age and inexperience and an overcrowded labor market? Do the schools even prepare their graduates for available job opportunities? No study has answered these questions satisfactorily; researchers have assumed early school-leaving to be the evil behind unemployment of youth and have neglected to appraise social, racial and ethnic discrimination as well as the economic situation and labor market conditions.

---

[25] See, for example, Paul H. Bowman and Charles V. Matthews, Motivations of Youth for Leaving School, Quincy Illinois: University of Chicago, Quincy Youth Development Project, 1960, pp. 20-24; August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949, pp. 330-32; and L. A. Van Dyke and K. B. Hoyt, The Drop-out Problem in Iowa High Schools, Iowa City: State University of Iowa, College of Education, 1958.

An effort was made to determine the effect of social class on the chances of dropouts in the Syracuse labor market, but this effort was hampered by inadequate methods of identifying social class. The available evidence indicated that social background did not affect type of entry job of dropouts, but lower social class did relate, to some degree, to relatively high job instability.

The importance of this study is that it is one of only a few which treat in some depth the post-dropout experiences of school-leavers for a defined period - two years - after they exit from school. The focus has too long been on describing the dropout population in terms of social background and school performance; the actual extent to which these youth are handicapped occupationally has only been surmised. If programs to aid dropouts are to be designed, we must know the exact problems they face in the labor market, what kinds of training and/or guidance would be of benefit to them and whether the school system is providing or should provide these training and guidance facilities. Before the problem can be attacked effectively it must be delineated.

Juvenile delinquency is not a general characteristic of dropouts, as many have believed. Only 14 per cent of girls and 44 per cent of boys had ever had an officially recorded contact with the police; most of the offenses were not serious and most occurred before the dropout experience.

The importance of employment to dropouts has been stressed. These youth leave a well-defined role as high school student without any ritual or social support to ease the transition into a new role. The new role is undefined; the youth is no longer a student and he is not yet old enough to be given the adult status he seeks. For girls adult status may be attained through marriage, and almost one-half of the girls were married within two years after leaving school. For boys and for some girls it may be attained by securing a full-time job; more than three-quarters of the boys had begun to look for work within the first month after leaving school. Failure to secure a "respectable" job with which he can identify may be a severe blow for the dropout. He is left, as it were, in limbo, a failure in school and in the job world; he is not quite sure who or what he is or what he should do next. It is at this point in the post-dropout experience that guidance and training may be welcomed.

The generally poor occupational position of the dropout has been confirmed in this study. The difficulty is not that dropouts cannot find jobs but that only low-level jobs are available to them. In Syracuse the boy dropouts were as frequently employed as were all males ages 18-22. Furthermore, they were able to find full-time employment. In short, most dropouts are not "unemployables". Their jobs, however, were usually as unskilled or semi-skilled operatives (38 per cent), service workers (17 per cent) or laborers (20 per cent), and fully seventy per cent of their jobs were rated below 20 on Duncan's Socio-economic Index for Occupations. Of every ten jobs, six paid no more than $1.50 an hour and only two paid more than $1.75 per hour.

Still, the boy dropout may not have been handicapped by his aborted education as was the girl dropout.[26] She experienced five times more unemployment than all girls ages 18-22 and was much less frequently employed in clerical positions. Girls found jobs as service workers, usually working with food in restaurants and hospitals (38 per cent), as operatives, usually packers and wrappers (24 per cent), and some as clerical workers (21 per cent). Their wages were very much compressed;

---

[26] This same conclusion was reached by Cooper, p. 468, and the U.S. Department of Labor Study, pp. 28-29.

almost eight of every ten jobs they held paid only $1.25 an hour or less. For these reasons it was emphasized that girls should not be neglected when planning programs to aid dropouts.

The non-white dropout is triply handicapped by his race, generally low social status[27] and his limited education. Non-whites experienced no more unemployment than did whites, but they were almost excluded from the white collar and craftsman jobs open to some white dropouts. Non-white females could not even obtain waitress positions where they could receive tips. Non-whites were, on the other hand, relegated to service positions more frequently than whites (36 per cent of non-white males and 60 per cent of non-white females). Nine of ten jobs held by non-white males were rated at the bottom of the socio-economic scale, that is, below 20. While wages did not vary to any appreciable degree between the two racial groups, it may be that with time the whites will receive increased wages, while the non-whites, because of the types of jobs they hold, will remain at the same low wage levels. Indeed, non-white boys advanced in job level less frequently than white boys in the two years following dropout. It is obvious that since a large proportion of dropouts are non-white, any program for dropouts must also be concerned with the elimination of racial discrimination.

The dropout's situation would not be lamented if their low-level jobs were merely entry jobs leading to progressively more responsible positions and higher wages. There was little evidence of job advancement in this study; fourth and fifth jobs were generally similar to first jobs. Some youth did receive slightly higher wages after two years (46 per cent), and almost one-fifth of the boys advanced by changing jobs so that they held more desired, easier and/or higher-paying jobs than they did when they started work. True, two years is a short time in which to measure job advancement, and advancement may not necessarily begin with the first jobs. Furthermore, the census classification of occupations is inadequate for comparing jobs at the unskilled and semi-skilled levels; janitors and barbers, for example, are both service workers, but their skill and wages may be vastly different. It seems likely, however, that many, if not most dropouts are relegated to "dead-end jobs".[28] Even many unionized, semi-skilled, operative jobs with relative security and adequate wages are closed to dropouts. Two major employers in Syracuse have a policy of not hiring dropouts.[29]

---

[27] See pages 4-7.

In must be recognized that not all dropouts are alike, either in their achievements in school or in their post-dropout work experiences. Some are able to secure a steady job; they advance with time; while they could not "mesh" effectively with school they are satisfied and successful in their jobs. Others are sporadic workers; they are laid off from or quit one low-level job after another, maintaining only occasional employment.[30] Most fall between these two extremes. The various ways in which girls combine work, marriage and child-rearing and their attitudes toward employment have been previously discussed in detail. From this recognition of different types of dropouts and the varying problems facing them it follows that no one type of program would be beneficial to all.

---

[28] There is some evidence that more graduates than dropouts advance occupationally with time (U.S. Department of Labor Study, p. 31).

[29] See Baldwin, et. al., p. 109.

[30] See S. M. Miller and Ira E. Harrison, "Types of Dropouts: 'The Unemployables'" in Arthur Shostak and William Gomberg, eds., Blue Collar World, Prentice-Hall, 1964.

Many programs are designed to guide dropouts in finding jobs; they emphasize proper dress, proper work habits, how to fill out application forms, use of the public employment service, and the like. The conclusion of this study is that while a few dropouts, those who find it almost impossible to secure employment, may benefit from such instruction, most would not. First, it must be recognized that some jobs are almost automatically closed to dropouts, and better dress or manners are not going to change the employer's mind. Second, most dropouts did not have serious difficulty in securing jobs for which they were eligible. Almost one-half of the boys were employed within two months after leaving school, and one-half were employed more than 75 per cent of the time since their dropout. Third, as noted above, the public employment service may not be the most efficient means of finding the types of jobs for which dropouts are eligible, and it does not take a youth long to realize this. Direct application at a company at a strategic time and "contacts" (friends or relatives) in the organization are most useful in opening the door to a suitable job. The jobs offer by the employment service are often jobs which no one wants because of the dirty of heavily physical character of the work, the low pay or inconvenient location. The employment service should be more fully utilized since it is an already existing institution, but it needs to revamp its position vis-a-vis the employment needs of local industry in order to serve the needs of youth.

Much of the current emphasis is on persuading youth to remain in school; those who have already left school are just beginning to be paid more than periphery attention. Other than the availability of adult education, little effort is made to prepare for their return to school by adopting school procedures and programs. Dropouts are generally receptive to the suggestion of further education.[31] Approximately 40 percent of the boys and 30 per cent of the girls in this study received some type of further training after dropping out, most in night school but some in day school, business or trade school, the armed force, on the job or through a correspondence course. About one-half of all dropouts had plans for further training of some type. Since most dropouts soon acquire the responsibilities of families or jobs, there should be night and other classes adapted to their needs. With encouragement and with inexpensive, easily available courses, many more might avail themselves of post-dropout education.

---

[31] National Education Association, Division of Adult Education Service, "The New Breed", Facts and Figures on Adult Education, #, 1 (December, 1963) and Betty L. Saleem and S.M. Miller, "The Neglected Dropout: The Returnee", Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Youth Development Center, July, 1963 (mimeographed).

The position of the Syracuse dropout in the labor market relative to that of the Syracuse graduate has not been ascertained. Available evidence from this and other studies indicates that female graduates are in a more favorable position than dropouts in that they are hired in clerical positions, which are cleaner and more interesting than operative and service jobs but do not always pay well. Male graduates have better chances than dropouts of securing white collar, craftsman and better-paying operative jobs, but many end up in the same kinds of jobs as dropouts. Some graduates have had vocational training in school which is truly beneficial to them; others have acquired mathematical and linguistic skills enabling them to secure lower level white collar positions. Many graduate, however, without vocational or technical training and without outstanding linguistic or mathematic ability. Others receive vocational training which is obsolete or which is supplementing an already surplus labor market supply; examples are agriculture courses in rural areas and probably auto mechanics in urban areas. In our concern for dropouts we must not forget that the basic problem is preparing all youth to participate successfully in the labor force; graduates may be as inadequately prepared as dropouts. Merely leaving school before graduation should not be the criterion for special attention.

What is needed is a much better fit between the educational processes and available work opportunities. The achievement of such a "fit" is a difficult process. Part of the change must be in the educational system. Vocational courses offered in high schools might be opened at lower grade levels than they are currently; then some dropouts could be prepared vocationally before they exit from school. Vocational courses need to be revised in terms of current technological demands. Vocational teachers may profit from retraining programs. The entire concept of vocational education needs to be reviewed in terms of its basic goals and its success in preparing youth vocationally.

Industry, too, can play a part in the preparation of youth for participation in the labor force. There is room for an enlarged number of programs, sponsored by industry, individually or jointly, for the training of youth in skills which are in demand in the local community. Such programs may be designed for flexibility, allowing for revision as local labor demands change.

Industry must also reconsider its employment qualifications for each job level. High school graduation is not essential to the acquisition of basic skills needed for many lower level white collar jobs. Dropouts may also easily learn some of the skilled crafts with only a minimum of additional training in science mathematics.

It hardly needs stating that the problem is more than providing skills in the labor force to meet the demands of industry; it is also one of insuring that the jobs are available, that the economy grows to meet the employment needs of the population.

The "dropout problem" is not merely a matter of encouraging youth to complete high school; it must be viewed in a much wider perspective than is currently the case among many who are concerned with dropouts.

TABLE 1
Occupations of Fathers of Dropouts, By Sex and Race of Dropouts

Occupation of Father	Boys						Girls						Both Sexes					
	White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional, technical and kindred	1	4	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	1
Managers, officials, proprietors	3	13	-	-	3	9	2	8	1	7	3	8	5	10	1	4	6	8
Clerical and sales workers	1	4	-	-	1	3	4	16	2	14	6	15	5	10	2	9	7	10
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred	3	13	1	11	4	12	5	20	3	22	8	21	8	17	4	17	12	17
Operatives	10	41	4	45	14	43	12	48	3	22	15	38	22	45	7	31	29	40
Service workers	3	13	1	11	4	12	1	4	3	22	4	10	4	8	4	17	8	11
Laborers (including farm laborers	3	13	3	33	6	18	1	4	2	14	3	8	4	8	5	22	9	13
TOTAL ASCERTAINED*	24	101	9	100	33	100	25	100	14	101	39	100	49	100	23	100	72	100

*Excluded are 13 boys and 13 girls whose fathers were deceased or unemployed or for whom father's occupation or labor force status was not ascertained.

Table 2

Socio-Economic Rating of Father's Occupation, by Sex and Race of Dropout

Socio-Economic Rating of Father's Occupation	Boys						Girls						Both Sexes					
	White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
00-09	2	8	4	45	6	18	1	4	4	29	5	13	3	6	8	35	11	15
10-19	4	17	2	22	6	18	10	40	4	29	14	36	14	29	6	26	20	28
20-29	11	46	3	33	14	43	7	28	4	29	11	28	18	37	7	30	25	35
30-39	4	17	-	-	4	12	3	12	2	14	5	13	7	14	2	9	9	12
40 or above	3	12	-	-	3	9	4	16	-	-	4	10	7	14	-	-	7	10
TOTAL ASCERTAINED*	24	100	9	100	33	100	25	100	14	101	39	100	49	100	23	100	72	100

*Excludes 13 boys and 13 girls whose fathers were deceased or unemployed or for whom father's occupation or labor force status was not ascertained.

Table 3

Socio-Economic Area of Residence at Time f Dropout, by Sex and Race

Socio-Economic Area at Time of Dropout	Boys						Girls						Both Sexes					
	White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I,II (high)	5	14	-	-	5	11	5	15	-	-	5	10	10	15	-	-	10	10
III	6	17	1	9	7	15	5	15	1	5	6	11	11	16	2	7	13	13
IV	6	17	-	-	6	13	9	27	2	11	11	21	15	22	2	7	17	18
V (low)	18	51	10	91	28	61	14	43	16	84	30	58	32	47	26	87	58	59
TOTAL	35	99	11	100	46	100	33	100	19	100	52	100	68	100	30	101	98	100

Table 4

Marital Status of Parents of Dropouts, by Sex and Race of Dropout

Marital Status of Parents	Boys						Girls						Both Sexes					
	White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Both living together	19	54	7	64	26	56	21	64	9	47	30	57	40	59	16	53	56	57
Separated, divorced	9	26	2	18	11	24	7	21	8	42	15	29	16	24	10	33	26	27
One parent deceased	7	20	2	18	9	20	3	9	2	11	5	10	10	15	4	13	14	14
Not ascertained	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	6	-	-	2	4	2	3	-	-	2	2
TOTAL	35	101	11	100	46	100	33	100	19	100	52	100	68	101	30	99	98	100

Table 5

Number of children in Dropouts' Families, by Sex of Dropout

Number of Children in Family	Boys		Girls		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
One	3	7	3	6	6	6
Two	9	20	14	27	23	23
Three - Six	26	56	18	34	44	45
Seven or more	7	15	16	31	23	23
Not ascertained	1	2	1	2	2	2
TOTAL	46	100	52	100	98	99

Table 6

Grade Completed at Time of Dropout, by Sex

Grade Completed at Dropout	Boys						Girls						Both Sexes					
	White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
6.7, Occupational Education or Special Class	5	14	-	-	5	11	3	9	1	5	4	8	8	12	1	3	9	9
8	10	29	4	37	14	31	10	30	3	16	13	25	20	29	7	23	27	28
9	9	26	3	27	12	26	3	9	5	26	8	15	12	18	8	27	20	21
10	4	11	3	27	7	15	6	18	8	42	14	27	10	15	11	37	21	21
11	7	20	1	9	8	17	11	34	2	11	13	25	18	26	3	10	21	21
TOTAL	35	100	11	100	46	100	33	100	19	100	52	100	63	100	30	100	98	100

Table 7

Grade, Retardation by Sex

Number of School Years Retarded	Boys						Girls						Both Sexes					
	White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	2	6	-	-	2	4	12	36	4	21	16	31	14	21	4	13	18	18
One	7	20	2	18	9	19	7	21	6	32	13	25	14	21	8	27	22	23
Two	14	40	6	55	20	44	8	24	7	37	15	29	22	32	13	43	35	36
Three	10	28	1	9	11	24	6	18	1	5	7	13	16	24	2	7	18	18
Four or more	2	6	1	9	3	7	-	-	1	5	1	2	2	3	2	7	4	4
Not ascertained	-	-	1	9	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	1	1
TOTAL	35	100	11	100	46	100	33	99	19	100	52	100	68	101	30	100	98	100

Table 8

Marital and Parental Status at Time of Interview, by Sex and Race

Marital and Parental Status	Boys						Girls						Both Sexes					
	White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married:																		
Children	5	14	3	27	8	18	8	24	5	26	13	25	13	19	8	27	21	21
No children	5	[illegible]	1	9	6	13	9	27	1	5	10	19	14	21	2	7	16	16
Divorced or separated children	-	-	1	9	1	2	1	3	1	5	2	4	1	1	2	7	3	3
Single, Unwed Mother																		
Engaged	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	1	5	2	4	1	1	1	3	2	2
Not engaged	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	7	37	8	15	1	1	7	23	8	8
Single, No Children																		
Engaged	2	6	-	-	2	4	4	12	-	-	4	8	6	9	-	-	6	6
Not engaged	23	66	6	55	29	63	9	27	4	21	13	25	32	47	10	33	42	43
TOTAL	35	100	11	100	46	100	33	99	19	99	52	100	68	99	30	100	98	99

Table 9

Number and Date of Contacts with Police, by Sex and Race

Number and Date of Contacts with Police	Boys						Girls						Both Sexes					
	White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No contacts	24	68	2	18	26	56	31	94	14	74	45	86	55	81	16	53	70	72
One: before dropping	1	3	4	36	5	11	-	-	2	10	2	4	1	1	6	20	7	7
One: after dropping	1	3	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
Two or more;																		
all before dropping	3	9	1	9	4	9	2	6	3	16	5	10	5	8	4	13	9	9
some before, some after	5	14	4	36	9	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	8	4	13	10	10
all after dropping	1	3	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
TOTAL	35	101	11	99	46	100	33	100	19	100	52	100	68	100	30	99	98	100

Table 10

Per Cent of Time Employed Since Leaving School, by Post-Dropout Police Contacts and Race of Dropout Boys

Per cent of Time Employed	Contacts with Police																	
	Yes						No						All Boys					
	White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total		White		Non-white		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-15%	-	-	1	13	1	6	2	8	1	-	3	12	2	6	2	20	4	9
16-45%	3	33	1	13	4	24	3	13	-	-	3	12	6	18	1	10	7	16
46-75%	1	11	3	37	4	24	7	29	-	-	7	27	8	24	3	30	11	26
7'-90%	2	22	-	-	2	12	4	17	-	-	4	15	6	18	-	-	6	14
91-100%	3	33	3	37	6	35	8	33	1	-	9	35	11	33	4	40	15	35
TOTAL	9	99	8	100	17	101	24	100	2	**	26	101	33	99	10	100	43	100

---

*Excludes three boys for whom percent of time employed was not ascertained.

**Percentages are not figured on totals less than eight

Table 11

Number of Months After Leaving School Before Dropout Began Looking for a Job, by Sex

When Began Looking for a Job	Boys		Girls		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Found a job before dropping out	14	31	7	13	21	22
Began looking before leaving school or within 1 month	20	44	25	48	45	46
Began within 2-3 months	2	4	2	4	4	4
Began within 4-6 months	2	4	4	8	6	6
Began within 7-9 months	--	--	--	--	--	--
Began within 10-12 months	1	2	4	8	5	5
Began within 13-18 months	--	--	--	--	--	--
Began within 19-24 months	1	2	1	2	2	2
Entered military service or school immediately	2	4	--	--	2	2
Never looked for a job	2	4	5	10	7	7
Not ascertained	2	4	4	8	6	6
TOTAL	46	99	52	101	98	100

Table 12

Number of Months After Leaving School

Before Dropout Began Work, by Sex and Race

When Began Work	Boys						Girls						Both Sexes					
	White		Non-White		Total		White		Non-White		Total		White		Non-White		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Before leaving School	5	14	3	27	8	17	3	9	2	11	5	9	8	12	5	17	13	13
In same month as left school	9	26	2	18	11	24	8	24	3	16	11	21	17	25	5	17	22	23
In second month	3	9	--	--	3	7	2	6	--	--	2	4	5	7	--	--	5	5
Within 3-5 mos.	4	11	1	9	5	11	7	21	1	5	8	15	11	16	2	7	13	13
Within 6-10 mos.	8	23	--	--	8	17	3	9	1	5	4	8	11	16	1	3	12	12
Within 11-13 mos.	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	3	--	--	1	2	1	1	--	--	1	1
Within 14-19 mos.	1	3	--	--	1	2	2	6	1	5	3	6	3	5	1	3	4	4
Within 20-24 mos.	2	6	1	9	3	7	1	3	3	16	4	8	3	5	4	13	7	7
After more than two years	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	5	1	2	--	--	1	3	1	1
Never worked more than 1-2 weeks	2	6	2	18	4	9	5	15	5	26	10	19	7	10	7	23	14	14
Not ascertained	1	3	2	18	3	7	1	3	2	11	3	6	2	3	4	13	6	6
TOTAL	35	101	11	99	46	101	33	99	19	100	52	100	68	100	30	99	98	99

Table 13

Number of Months After Leaving School Before Dropout Boys Began Work, by Age at Time of Dropout

When Began Work	Age at Dropout 16 or under No.	%	17 or older No.	%	All Boys No.	%
Before leaving school	1	7	6	22	7	17
Within 2 months	3	21	11	41	14	34
Within 3-5 months	2	14	3	11	5	12
Within 6-10 months	3	21	5	19	8	20
After more than 10 months	4	29	--	--	4	10
Not ascertained	1	7	2	7	3	7
TOTAL*	14	99	27	100	41	.100

*Excludes 4 boys who never worked and 1 boy for whom age at dropout was not ascertained.

Table 14

Number of Months After Leaving School Before Dropout Boys Began Work, by Employment Before Leaving School and by Race

When Began Work	Employment Before Dropout																	
	Employed						Not Employed						All Boys					
	White		Non-White		Total		White		Non-White		Total		White		Non-White		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Before leaving	5	20	3	43	8	25	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	14	3	27	8	17
Within 2 mos.	10	40	1	14	11	35	2	20	1	--	3	22	12	34	2	18	14	30
Within 3-5 mos.	2	8	--	--	2	6	2	20	1	--	3	22	4	11	1	9	5	11
Within 6-10 mos.	6	24	--	--	6	19	2	20	--	--	2	14	8	23	--	--	8	17
After more than 10 mos.	1	4	1	14	2	6	2	20	--	--	2	14	3	9	1	9	4	9
Never worked more than 1-2 weeks	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	20	2	--	4	28	2	6	2	18	4	9
Not ascertained	1	4	2	29	3	9	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	3	2	18	3	7
TOTAL	25	100	7	100	32	100	10	100	4*		14	100	35	100	11	99	46	100

*Percentages are not calculated when the column total is less than 7.

Table 15

Per Cent of Time Employed Since Leaving School, by Sex and Race of Dropout

Percent of Time Employed Since Leaving School[1]	Boys						Girls						Both Sexes					
	White		Non-White		Total		White		Non-White		Total		White		Non-White		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not at all	1	3	2	18	3	7	5	15	1	5	6	11	6	9	3	10	9	9
15% or less	1	3	--	--	1	2	7	21	7	37	14	27	8	12	7	23	15	15
16-30%	3	9	--	--	3	7	2	6	3	16	5	10	5	7	4	10	8	8
31-45%	3	9	1	9	4	9	3	9	2	11	5	10	6	9	3	10	9	9
46-60%	5	14	--	--	5	11	3	9	--	--	3	6	8	12	--	--	8	8
61-75%	3	9	3	27	6	13	1	3	1	5	2	4	4	6	4	13	8	8
76-90%	6	17	--	--	6	13	7	21	4	21	11	21	13	19	4	13	17	17
91-100%	11	31	4	36	15	32	5	15	1	5	6	11	16	24	5	17	21	22
Not ascertained	2	6	1	9	3	7	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	3	1	3	3	3
TOTAL	35	101	11	99	46	101	33	99	19	100	52	100	68	101	30	99	98	99

---

[1] Jobs held less than one week were not included as employment. The table does not take into account the time a youth was out of the labor market. In the case of boys who returned to school, all but one were also employed at the time. Boys who were mentally retarded are included in the "not at all" category. In the case of girls who were married or had children, it was impossible to calculate when they were out of the labor force or merely unemployed.

Table 16

Employment Status Two Years After Leaving School, by Sex and Race

Employment Status Two Years After Leaving Sch.	Boys White No.	Boys White %	Boys Non-White No.	Boys Non-White %	Boys Total No.	Boys Total %	Girls White No.	Girls White %	Girls Non-White No.	Girls Non-White %	Girls Total No.	Girls Total %	Both Sexes White No.	Both Sexes White %	Both Sexes Non-White No.	Both Sexes Non-White %	Both Sexes Total No.	Both Sexes Total %
Employed	26	74	9	82	35	76	16	49	10	53	26	50	42	62	19	64	6[illegible]	62
Unemployed	4	11	1	9	5	11	8	24	3	16	11	21	12	18	4	13	16	16
Not in labor force	4	11	1	9	5	11	9	27	6	31	15	29	13	19	7	23	20	21
Not ascertained	1	3	--	--	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	1	1
TOTAL	35	99	11	100	46	100	33	100	19	100	52	100	68	100	30	100	98	100

Table 17

Labor Force and Unemployment Statistics for Syracuse Standard Metropolitan Area, City of Syracuse and Syracuse Dropouts, 1960 by Sex.

Labor Force Status	Syracuse Standard Metropolitan Area*		City of Syracuse**		Syracuse Dropouts	
	Males not in school, age 18-22	Females not in school, age 18-22	All males age 14 and older	All females age 14 and older.	Boys	Girls
Percentage not in labor force	7	43	33	60	11	29
Percentage unemployed of total	11	3	4	2	11	21
Percentage unemployed of labor force	12	6	5	4	12	30

*United States Bureau of the Census. *U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics. New York.* Final Report PC (1)-34D. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1962, p. 34-574. This information was not available for Syracuse, but only for the standard metropolitan area consisting of Onondaga, Oswego and Madison counties.

**United States Bureau of the Census. *U. S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts.* Final Report PHC (1)-154. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1962, p. 42.

Table 18

Jc's Held by Boy Dropouts, by Race

Job	White Boys								Non-white Boys								All Boys							
	First Job		Second Job		Third, fourth fifth Jobs		All Jobs		First Job		Second Job		Third, fourth fifth Jobs		All Jobs		First Job		Second Job		Third, fourth fifth Jobs		All Jobs	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional, technical and Kindred workers	1	3	2	8	2	8	5	6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	2	2	6	2	6	5	5
Draftsmen	1				2		3										1				2		3	
Radio operators			1				1												1				1	
Technicians, dental			1				1												1				1	
Managers, Officials and Proprietors	--	--	--	--	1	4	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	3	1	1
Managers, etc. (n.e.c.*)					1		1														1		1	
Clerical and Kindred Workers	2	6	4	15	--	--	6	7	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	5	4	11	--	--	6	6
Mail carriers			1				1												1				1	
Shipping and receiving clerks			2				2												2				2	
Messengers, office boys	1						1										1						1	
Typists	1						1																	
Clerical (n.e.c.)			1				1										1		1				1 1	
Sales Workers	2	6	1	4	1	4	4	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	5	1	3	1	3	4	4
Salesmen, sales clerks (n.e.c.)	2		1		1		4										2		1		1		4	
Craftsmen, Foremen & Kindred workers	5	15	1	4	3	13	9	11	1	11	--	--	--	--	1	4	6	14	1	3	3	9	10	9

*Not elsewhere classified

Continued-2

Table 18

Jobs Held by Boy Dropouts, by Race

Job	White Boys First Job		Second Job		Third, Fourth Fifth Jobs		All Jobs		Non-white Boys First Job		Second Job		Third, Fourth Fifth Jobs		All Jobs		All Boys First Job		Second Job		Third, Fourth Fifth Jobs		All Jobs	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bakers																								
Excavating machinery operators			1				1												1				1	
Glaziers									1						1		1						1	
Auto mechanics	2				2		4										2				2		4	
Mechanics, Repairmen (n.e.c.)	1				1		2										1				1		2	
Paper hangers	1						1										1						1	
Plumbers, pipe fitters	1						1										1						1	
Operatives and Kindred Workers	9	26	11	42	11	46	31	37	5	56	3	38	2	25	10	40	14	33	14	41	13	41	41	38
Apprentices			2		1		3						1		1				2		2		4	
Insulation workers	1						1										1						1	
Assemblers	2		1				3		1						1		3		1				4	
Auto, parking attendants	2				2		4		1		1				2		3		1		2		6	
Deliverymen	1		1		1		3				1				1		1		2		1		4	
Filers, grinders			1				1												1				1	
Fruit, vegetable packers			1				1												1				1	
Dry cleaning operatives													1		1						1		1	
Packers, wrappers (n.e.c.)	1						1										1						1	
Painters	1						1										1						1	
Truck drivers					2		2		1		1				2		1		1		2		4	
Sewers, stitchers					1		1														1		1	
Sawyers					1		1														1		1	
Operatives (n.e.c.)	1		5		3		9		2						2		3		5		3		11	

Continued-3

Table 18

Jobs Held by Boy Dropouts, by Race

Job	White Boys								Non-white Boys								All Boys							
	First Job		Second Job		Third, Fourth Fifth Jobs		All Jobs		First Job		Second Job		Third, Fourth Fifth Jobs		All Jobs		First Job		Second Job		Third, Fourth Fifth Jobs		All Jobs	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Service Workers	8	23	1	4	1	4	10	12	3	33	3	38	3	38	9	36	11	26	4	12	4	13	19	17
Bootblacks									1						1		1						1	
Cooks	1						1		1				1		2		2				1		3	
Janitors	1				1		2				1		1		2		1		1		2		4	
Kitchen workers	3		1				4		1		2				3		4		3				7	
Waiters	1						1										1						1	
Service workers (n.e.c.)	2						2						1		1		2				1		3	
Laborers	7	21	6	23	4	17	17	20	--	--	2	25	3	38	5	20	7	16	8	24	7	22	22	20
Farm laborers	1		1				2										1		1				2	
Groundskeepers	1						1										1						1	
Laborers (n.e.c.)	5		5		4		14				2		3		5		5		7		7		19	
Occupation not ascertained	--		--		1	4	1	1	--		--		--		--		--		--		1	3	1	1
TOTAL	34	100	26	100	24	100	84	100	9	100	8	101	8	101	25	100	43	101	34	100	32	100	109	101

Table 19

Socio-economic Ratings of Jobs Held

by Dropout Boys, by Race and When Job was Held

Socio-Economic Rating of Job	First Job						Second Job						Third, Fourth, Fifth Jobs						All Jobs					
	White		Non-White		Total		White		Non-White		Total		White		Non-White		Total		White		Non-White		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
00 - 09	4	12	3	33	7	16	4	15	3	37	7	20	3	13	5	63	8	25	11	13	11	44	22	20
10 - 19	20	59	5	56	25	58	10	40	4	50	14	41	12	50	3	37	15	47	42	50	12	48	54	50
20 - 29	3	9	1	11	4	9	4	15	--	--	4	12	2	8	--	--	2	6	9	11	1	4	10	9
30 - 39	4	12	--	--	4	9	4	15	1	13	5	15	3	13	--	--	3	9	11	13	1	4	12	11
40 or above	3	9	--	--	3	7	4	15	--	--	4	12	2	8	--	--	2	6	9	11	--	--	9	8
Not ascertained	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	8	--	--	2	6	2	2	--	--	2	2
TOTAL	34	101	9	100	43	99	26	100	8	100	34	100	24	100	8	100	32	99	84	100	25	100	109	100

Table 20

Jobs Held by Girl Dropouts, by Race

Job	White Girls								Non-white Girls					All Girls							
	First Job		Second Job		Third & Fourth Jobs		All Jobs		First Job		Second Job	All Jobs		First Job		Second Job		Third & Fourth Jobs		All Jobs	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Clerical and Kindred workers	7	25	6	27	3	16	16	23	3	17	--	3	13	10	22	6	23	3	16	19	21
Bookkeeping			1				1		1			1		1		1				2	
Cashiers	1		2		1		4							1		2		1		4	
Insurance adjusters	1						1							1						1	
Office machine operators	1				1		2							1				1		2	
Payroll clerks					1		1											1		1	
Receptionist	1						1							1						1	
Shipping and receiving clerks									1			1		1						1	
Stock clerks			1				1		1			1		1		1				2	
Telephone operators			1				1									1				1	
Typists	1		1				2							1		1				2	
Clerical (n.e.c.*)	2						2							2						2	
Sales Workers	3	11	2	10	3	16	8	12	--	--	--	--	--	3	7	2	8	3	16	8	9
Sales clerks	3		2		3		8							3		2		3		8	
Operatives and Kindred Workers	5	18	6	27	6	31	17	25	2	11	3	5	22	7	15	9	35	6	31	22	24
Assemblers	1				1		2				2	2		1		2		1		4	
Fruit & vegetable packers			1				1									1				1	
Dry cleaning operatives	1		3		1		5		1			1		2		3		1		6	
Packers, wrappers (n.e.c.)	3		2		4		9							3		2		4		9	
Operatives (n.e.c.)									1		1	2		1		1				2	
Private Household Workers	2	7	1	5	2	11	5	7	1	5	--	1	5	3	7	1	4	2	11	6	6
Babysitters	2		1		2		5		1			1		3		1		2		6	

Continued

Table 20

Jobs Held by Girl Dropouts, by Race

Occupation	White Girls								Non-white Girls					All Girls							
Job	First Job		Second Job		Third & Fourth Jobs		All Jobs		First Job		Second Job	All Jobs		First Job		Second Job		Third & Fourth Jobs		All Jobs	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Service workers	10	36	7	32	5	26	22	32	12	67	1	13	60	22	48	8	31	5	26	35	38
Hospital attendants			2				2		3			3		3		2				5	
Maids									1		1	2		1		1				2	
Counter, fountain workers	4						4		2			2		6						6	
Elevator operators					1		1											1		1	
Kitchen workers	1						1		5			5		6						6	
Waitresses	4		5		4		13		1			1		5		5		4		14	
Service workers (n.e.c.)	1						1							1						1	
Laborers	1		--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	2	--	--	--	--	1	1
Laborers (n.e.c.)	1	4					1							1						1	
TOTAL	28	101	22	101	19	100	69	100	18	100	4	22	100	46	101	26	101	19	100	91	99

*Not elsewhere classified (n.e.c.)

Table 21

Wages Received by Sex and Race and When Job Was Held

Wages per Hour	First Job						Second Job						Third, Fourth, Fifth Jobs						All Jobs					
	White No.	White %	Non-White No.	Non-White %	Total No.	Total %	White No.	White %	Non-White No.	Non-White %	Total No.	Total %	White No.	White %	Non-White No.	Non-White %	Total No.	Total %	White No.	White %	Non-White No.	Non-White %	Total No.	Total %
BOYS																								
Less than $1.00	--	--	1	11	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	13	1	3	--	--	2	8	2	2
$1.00-1.25	14	41	3	34	17	40	8	31	5	62	13	38	7	29	2	25	9	28	29	34	10	40	39	36
$1.26-1.50	5	15	2	22	7	16	9	35	1	13	10	29	6	25	--	--	6	19	20	24	3	12	23	21
$1.51-1.75	4	12	1	11	5	12	3	11	--	--	3	9	2	8	1	13	3	9	9	11	2	8	11	10
$1.76-2.00	2	6	--	--	2	5	2	8	1	13	3	9	2	8	--	--	2	6	6	7	1	4	7	6
$2.01-2.50	6	17	--	--	6	14	1	4	--	--	1	3	1	4	--	--	1	3	8	10	--	--	8	7
$2.50 or above	1	3	--	--	1	2	--	--	1	13	1	3	3	13	3	37	6	19	4	5	4	16	8	7
Not ascertained	2	6	2	22	4	9	3	11	--	--	3	9	3	13	1	13	4	13	8	10	3	12	11	10
TOTAL	34	100	9	100	43	100	26	100	8	101	34	100	24	100	8	101	32	100	84	101	25	100	109	99
GIRLS																								
Less than $1.00	6	21	1	6	7	15	3	14	--	--	3	11	2	10	--	--	2	10	11	16	1	5	12	13
$1.00-1.25	15	53	14	78	29	63	16	73	2	--	18	70	11	58	--	--	11	58	42	61	16	73	58	64
$1.26-1.50	5	18	2	11	7	15	2	9	--	--	2	8	3	16	--	--	3	16	10	15	2	9	12	13
$1.51-1.75	1	4	1	6	2	4	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	11	--	--	2	11	3	4	1	5	4	5
$1.76-2.00	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	4	1	5	--	--	1	5	1	1	1	5	2	2
$2.01-2.50	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	5	1	--	2	8	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	1	5	2	2
$2.51-or above	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Not ascertained	1	4	--	--	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	1	1
TOTAL	28	100	18	101	46	99	22	101	4	*	26	101	19	100	--	--	19	100	69	99	22	102	91	100

*Percentages are not figured on totals less than 8.

Table 22

Industries Employing all Syracuse Employed and Syracuse Dropouts, by Sex of Dropout (In Per Cent).

Industry where Employed	Syracuse all employed males and females 14 and older* (1)	Dropout Boys All jobs (2)	Dropout Boys First job (3)	Dropout Boys Job at two years** (4)	Dropout Girls All jobs (5)	Dropout Girls First job (6)	Dropout Girls Job at two years** (7)
Agriculture	--	2	2	3	--	--	--
Mining	.1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Construction	4	14	14	14	1	2	4
Manufacturing	31	13	14	14	13	11	23
Durable goods	(23)	(9)	(12)	(5)	(7)	(2)	(15)
Furniture, lumber and wood products	(.3)	(4)	(7)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(4)
Metal industries	(4)	(4)	(2)	(3)	--	--	--
Nondurable goods	(8)	(4)	(2)	(9)	(7)	(9)	(8)
Transportation	4	1	--	--	--	--	--
Communication, Utilities, Sanitary service	3	--	--	--	--	--	--
Wholesale trade	4	8	5	11	4	--	--
Retail Trade	15	26	35	23	46	46	38
Eating & drinking places	(3)	(7)	(14)	3	(13)	(11)	(12)
Business & Repair Services	2	12	12	11	--	--	--
Personal Services	5	3	2	6	17	13	8
Professional and Related Services	16	10	7	11	13	22	23
Hospitals	(3)	(5)	(5)	(6)	(10)	(15)	(12)
Public Administration	4	6	7	--	--	--	--
Other industries (inc. not reported)	12	5	2	6	5	6	4
TOTAL PER CENT	100	100	100	99	99	100	100
TOTAL NUMBER	10,204	108	43	35	91	46	26

---

*United States Bureau of the Census. U. S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960: Census Tracts, Final Report PH C (1)-154. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1962, p. 42.

**"Job at two years" refers to the job held by each dropout on the date two years after he officially left school.

Table 23

Change in Hourly Wage from First to Last Job, by Sex and Race

Change in Hourly Wage	Boys White No.	Boys White %	Boys Non-White No.	Boys Non-White %	Boys Total No.	Boys Total %	Girls White No.	Girls White %	Girls Non-White No.	Girls Non-White %	Girls Total No.	Girls Total %	Both Sexes White No.	Both Sexes White %	Both Sexes Non-White No.	Both Sexes Non-White %	Both Sexes Total No.	Both Sexes Total %
Decrease: $1.00-1.49	1	5	--	--	1	4	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	2	--	--	1	2
$ .50- .99	2	11	1	--	3	12	2	8	--	--	2	6	4	9	1	6	5	8
$ .16- .49	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	4	--	--	1	3	1	2	--	--	1	2
Remain same or vary $.15 or less	6	31	--	--	6	24	11	46	8	80	19	56	17	40	8	50	25	42
Increase: $ .16- .49	4	21	4	--	8	32	5	21	1	10	6	17	9	21	5	31	14	24
$ .50- .99	4	21	--	--	4	16	5	21	--	--	5	15	9	21	--	--	9	15
$1.00-1.99	2	11	1	--	3	12	--	--	1	10	1	3	2	5	2	13	4	7
TOTAL ASCERTAINED*	19	100	6	**	25	100	24	100	10	100	34	100	43	100	16	100	59	100

*Excludes 16 white boys (46 percent), 5 non-white boys (45 percent), 9 white girls (27 percent) and 9 non-white girls (47 percent) for whom change in pay was not ascertained. Most of these held only one job and it was not known if their pay had increased with time or not.

**Percentages are not figured when the total number is less than eight.

Table 24

General Job History, by

Sex and Race

General Job History	Boys White No.	Boys White %	Boys Non-White No.	Boys Non-White %	Boys Total No.	Boys Total %	Girls White No.	Girls White %	Girls Non-White No.	Girls Non-White %	Girls Total No.	Girls Total %	Both Sexes White No.	Both Sexes White %	Both Sexes Non-White No.	Both Sexes Non-White %	Both Sexes Total No.	Both Sexes Total %
One good job most of time	9	26	2	18	11	24	5	15	1	5	6	12	14	21	3	10	17	17
Several jobs, advancing	7	20	1	9	8	18	2	6	1	5	3	6	9	13	2	7	11	11
One poor job most of time	5	14	2	18	7	15	3	9	4	21	7	13	8	12	6	20	14	14
Several jobs, no advancement	4	11	2	18	6	13	8	24	--	--	8	15	12	18	2	7	14	14
Unemployed more than half the time	5	14	2	18	7	15	9	27	5	26	14	27	14	21	7	23	21	22
Out of labor force most of time*	3	9	2	18	5	11	6	18	7	37	13	25	9	13	9	30	18	19
Other	2	6	--	--	2	4	--	--	1	5	1	2	2	3	1	3	3	3
TOTAL	35	100	11	99	46	100	33	99	19	99	52	100	68	101	30	100	98	100

*In school, mentally retarded, and girls with children who chose not to work.

Table 25
Occupations of Employed Males and Females in the Syracuse Standard Metropolitan Area and the City of Syracuse and of Syracuse Dropouts, by Sex
(In Per Cent)

	MALES					FEMALES				
	Syracuse SMA: employed males, 18-24 [1]	Syracuse employed males 14 and older [2]	Dropouts			Syracuse SMA: employed females 18-24 [1]	Syracuse employed females 14 and older [2]	Dropouts		
			All jobs	First job	Job at two years [3]			All jobs	First job	Job at two years [3]
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Professional, Technical and Kindred	12	14	5	2	3	17	16	--	--	--
Managers, Officials, Proprietors (inc. Farm)	4	10	1	--	--	1	3	--	--	--
Clerical Workers	12	9	6	5	3	52	34	21	22	31
Sales Workers	8	9	4	5	3	6	8	9	7	4
Sales Workers in Retail Trade	(5)		(4)	(5)	(3)	(5)		(9)	(7)	(4)
Craftsmen	14	19	9	14	9	1	1	--	--	--
Mechanics & Repairmen, auto	(3)		(4)	(2)	(3)	--		--	--	--
Operatives and Kindred	23	19	38	33	37	6	14	24	15	23
Apprentices	(1)		(4)	(--)	(3)	(--)		(--)	(--)	(--)
Assemblers	(2)		(4)	(7)	(3)	(1)		(4)	(2)	(8)
Attendants, auto, etc.	(2)		(6)	(7)	(3)	(--)		(--)	(--)	(--)
Delivery & Routemen, Truck-Driver	(4)	.	(7)	(5)	(9)	(--)		(--)	(--)	(--)
Dry Cleaning Operatives [4]	(.1)		(1)	(--)	(3)	(.7)		(7)	(4)	(4)
Private Household Workers	.3	.1	--	--	--	2	4	7	7	4
Service Workers	8	8	17	26	14	9	12	38	48	38
Charwomen, janitors, porters	(1)		(4)	(2)	(6)	(.2)		(2)	(2)	(--)
Waiters, counter workers	(1)		(1)	(2)	(--)	(4)		(22)	(24)	(19)
Laborers including farm	12	6	20	16	31	1	1	1	--	--
Occupation not reported	7	6	1	--	--	6	7	--	--	--
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	101	101	100	101	100	100	99	100
TOTAL NUMBER	15,144	54,578	109	43	35	11,444	33,109	91	46	26

Table 25

Footnotes

[1] United States Bureau of the Census. U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics. New York. Final Report PC (1)-34D. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1962, pp.34-574. This information was not available for Syracuse, but only for the "standard metropolitan area" (SMA) consisting of Onondaga, Oswego and Madison counties. Syracuse is located in Onondaga county.

[2] United States Bureau of the Census. U. S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960. Census tracts. Final Report PHC (1)-154. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1962, p. 42.

[3] Job at two years "refers to the job held by each dropout on the date two years after he officially left school.

[4] The dropout girls who were private household workers were babysitters.

Table 26
Reasons for Leaving Jobs, by Sex and Race of Dropout

Reason for Leaving Job	First Job						Second Job						Third, Fourth, Fifth Jobs						All Jobs					
	White		Non-White		Total		White		Non-White		Total		White		Non-White		Total		White		Non-White		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
BOYS:																								
Fired	4	16	--	--	4	12	2	11	2	--	4	16	--	--	--	--	--	--	6	10	2	11	8	10
Laid off:																								
End of job	2	8	1	13	3	9	3	16	2	--	5	20	3	20	2	--	5	25	8	14	5	26	13	17
Lack of work	3	12	--	--	3	9	2	11	--	--	2	8	4	27	2	--	6	30	9	15	2	11	11	14
Business no longer existent	2	8	1	13	3	9	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	7	--	--	1	5	3	5	1	5	4	5
Other	1	4	1	13	2	6	2	11	--	--	2	8	1	7	--	--	1	5	4	7	1	5	5	6
Quit	11	44	4	50	15	46	7	37	2	--	9	36	5	33	1	--	6	30	23	39	7	37	30	39
Discharge from military service	1	4	1	13	2	6	2	11	--	--	2	8	1	7	--	--	1	5	4	7	1	5	5	6
Not ascertained	1	4	--	--	1	3	1	5	--	--	1	4	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	3	--	--	2	3
TOTAL*	25	100	8	102	33	100	19	100	6	**	25	100	15	101	5	**	20	100	59	100	19	100	78	100
GIRLS:																								
Fired	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	5	--	--	1	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	2	--	--	1	1
Laid off:																								
End of job	2	8	2	15	4	11	3	15	--	--	3	14	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	9	2	14	7	10
Lack of work	4	17	--	--	4	11	4	20	--	--	4	19	1	9	--	--	1	9	9	16	--	--	9	13
Business no longer existent	1	4	1	8	2	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	9	--	--	1	9	2	4	1	7	3	4
Other	1	4	1	8	2	5	2	10	1	--	3	14	1	9	--	--	1	9	4	7	2	14	6	9
Quit	16	67	9	69	25	68	10	50	--	--	10	48	8	73	--	--	8	73	34	62	9	64	43	62
TOTAL*	24	100	13	100	37	100	20	100	1	**	21	100	11	100	--	--	11	100	55	100	14	99	69	99

*Excludes those jobs which the dropouts held at the time of the interviews.

**The percentage is not calculated when the total number is less than eight.

Table 27

How Dropouts Found Their Jobs, by

When Job Was Held and by Sex

How Job Was Found	Boys								Girls								Both Sexes							
	First Job		Second Job		Third, Fourth, Fifth Jobs		All Jobs		First Job		Second Job		Third, Fourth, Fifth Jobs		All Jobs		First Job		Second Job		Third, Fourth, Fifth Jobs		All Jobs	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Relative	7	16	8	23	3	9	18	16	8	17	4	15	4	21	16	18	15	17	12	20	7	14	34	17
Friend	14	33	9	26	8	25	31	28	12	26	7	27	4	21	23	25	26	29	16	27	12	23	54	27
Newspaper	2	5	2	6	1	3	5	5	3	7	1	4	3	16	7	8	5	6	3	5	4	8	12	6
Public employment agency*	4	9	5	15	6	19	15	14	2	4	3	11	--	--	5	5	6	7	8	13	6	12	20	10
Private employment agency	--	--	1	3	1	3	2	2	4	9	2	8	1	5	7	8	4	4	3	5	2	4	9	4
Direct application	9	21	4	12	7	22	20	18	15	33	3	31	7	37	30	33	24	27	12	20	14	27	50	25
Other	6	14	5	15	6	19	17	16	2	4	1	4	--	--	3	3	8	9	6	10	6	10	20	10
Not ascertained	1	2	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	--	--	1	1
TOTAL	43	100	34	100	32	100	109	100	46	100	26	100	19	100	91	100	89	100	60	100	51	100	200	100

*New York State Employment Service

Table 28

Socio-economic Ratings of First Jobs Held by Boy Dropouts, by Grade Completed at Dropout

Socio-Economic Rating of First Job	Grade Completed at Dropout 9th or less		10,11		All Boys	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
00-09	3	11	4	27	7	16
10-19	19	68	6	40	25	58
20-29	2	7	2	13	4	9
30 and above	4	14	3	20	7	16
TOTAL*	28	100	15	100	43	99

*Excludes 3 boys who never worked.

Table 29

Socio-economic Rating of First Jobs Held by Boy Dropouts, by Age at Time of Dropping Out

Socio-Economic Rating of First Job	Age at Dropout 16 or under No.	 %	 17 or older No.	 %	All Boys No.	 %
00-09	2	13	5	19	7	17
10-19	9	60	15	55	24	57
20-29	2	13	2	7	4	9
30 and above	2	13	5	19	7	17
TOTAL*	15	99	27	100	42	100

*Excludes 3 boys who never worked and one for whom ege was not ascertained.

Table 30

Hourly Wage of First Job, by Grade Completed at Dropout and by Sex

Hourly Wage of First Job	Grade Completed at Dropout											
	Boys				Girls				Total			
	9th grade or less		10th, 11th		9th grade or less		10th, 11th		9th grade or less		10th, 11th	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
$1.25 or less	13	46	5	33	19	86	17	71	32	64	22	57
$1.26 - 1.75	9	32	3	20	3	14	6	25	12	24	9	23
$1.76 or more	3	11	6	40	--	--	--	--	3	6	6	15
Not ascertained	3	11	1	7	--	--	1	4	3	6	2	5
TOTAL*	28	100	15	100	22	100	24	100	50	100	39	100

*Excludes 3 boys and 6 girls who never worked.

Table 31

Hourly Wage of First Job, by Age at Dropout and by Sex

Hourly Wage of First Job	Age at Dropout																	
	Boys						Girls						Total					
	16 or younger		17		18 or older		16 or younger		17		18 or older		16 or younger		17		18 or older	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
$1.25 or less	7	47	5	42	5	33	22	91	9	60	5	72	29	74	14	52	10	46
$1.26 - 1.75	5	33	4	33	3	20	2	9	6	40	1	14	7	18	10	37	4	18
$1.76 or more	1	7	2	17	6	40	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	3	2	7	6	27
Not ascertained	2	13	1	8	1	7	--	--	--	--	1	14	2	5	1	4	2	9
TOTAL*	15	100	12	100	15	100	24	100	15	100	7	100	39	100	27	100	22	100

*Excludes 3 boys and 6 girls who never worked and 1 boy for whom age was not ascertained.

Table 32

Hourly Wage on Job Held at Time of Interview, by Grade Completed at Interview and by Sex

Hourly Wage of Job Held at Interview	Grade Completed at Interview*											
	BOYS						GIRLS**					
	8th or less		9,10		11, 12 or more		9th or less		10-12 or more			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
$1.25 or less	2	22	4	33	2	25	5	62	6	46		
$1.26 - $1.50	4	45	--	--	1	13	2	25	4	31		
$1.51 - $2.00	2	22	5	42	--	--	1	13	2	15		
$2.01 and above	1	11	3	25	5	63	--	--	1	8		
TOTAL***	9	100	12	100	8	101	8	100	13	100		

---

* Some dropouts returned to school and graduated; a couple had further training in business school or college after graduating.

** The breakdown on grade completed is different for boys and girls because of the small numbers of girls in 2 categories (8th or less and 11th or more).

*** All boys and girls who were unemployed or not in the labor force at the time of the interview or for whom hourly wage was not ascertained are excluded from the calculations.

Table 33

Socio-economic Rating of Boys' Jobs Held at Time of Interview, by Grade completed at Interview

Socio-economic Rating of Job Held at Interview	Grade Completed at Interview							
	8th or less		9,10.		11, 12 or more*		All Boys	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
00 - 09	2	18	4	31	--	--	6	18
10 - 19	7	64	8	62	3	33	18	55
20 - 29	--	--	1	8	1	11	2	6
30 - 39	2	18	--	--	3	33	5	15
40 and above	--	--	--	--	2	22	2	6
TOTAL**	11	100	13	101	9	99	33	100

* Some dropouts returned to school and graduated; a couple had further training in business school or college after graduating.

** Excluded are 13 boys who were unemployed or out of the labor force at the time of the interview.

Table 34

Hourly Wage on First Job, by Employment

Experience before Dropping Out and by Sex and Race

Hourly Wage on First Job	EMPLOYMENT BEFORE DROPOUT																							
	BOYS												GIRLS											
	White				Non-white				All Boys				White				Non-white				All Girls			
	Employed		Not Employed		Employed		Not Employed		Employed		Not Employed		Employed		Not Employed		Employed		Not Employed		Employed		Not Employed	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
$1.25 or less	9	36	5	--	3	--	1	--	12	40	6	67	10	71	11	85	10	77	5	--	20	74	16	89
$1.26-1.75	7	28	2	--	2	--	1	--	9	30	3	33	4	29	2	15	3	23	--	--	7	26	2	11
$1.76 or more	9	36	--	--	--	--	--	--	9	30	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
TOTAL*	25	100	7	**	5	**	2	**	30	100	9	100	14	100	13	100	13	100	5	**	27	100	18	100

*Excluded are 7 boys and 7 girls who never worked after leaving school or for whom hourly wage was not ascertained.

**Percentages are not figured on totals less than 8.

Table 35

Type of First Job, by Socio-Economic Area
of Residence At Time of Dropout and
by Sex

Type of First Job	Socio-economic Area at Dropout							
	Boys				Girls			
	I-IV		V		I-IV		V	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
White collar workers	3	17	2	8	5	26	8	30
Craftsmen	4	22	2	8	--	--	--	--
Operatives	2	11	12	48	3	16	4	15
Service workers	4	22	7	28	10	53	15	55
Laborers	5	28	2	8	1	5	--	--
TOTAL*	18	100	25	100	19	100	27	100

*Excludes 3 boys and 6 girls who never worked.

Table 36

Type of First Job, by Father's Occupation and by Sex

Type of First Job	Father's Occupation											
	Boys' Fathers						Girls' Fathers					
	White collar, Craftsmen		Operatives		Service workers, Laborers		White collar, Craftsmen		Operatives		Service workers, Laborers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
White collar workers	1	11	2	14	--	--	3	21	4	29	3	43
Craftsmen	1	11	1	7	1	13	--	--	--	--	--	--
Operatives	4	45	3	21	4	50	3	21	2	14	2	29
Service workers	1	11	5	36	2	25	7	50	8	57	2	29
Laborers	2	22	3	21	1	13	1	7	--	--	--	--
TOTAL*	9	100	14	99	8	101	14	99	14	100	7	101

*Excludes all dropouts who held no jobs or for whom father's occupation was not ascertained.

Table 37

Type of First Job, by Public Welfare Record of Parents and by Sex

Type of First Job	Public Welfare Record of Parents*							
	Boys				Girls			
	Welfare		Non-welfare		Welfare		Non-welfare	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
White collar workers	3	14	2	9	5	20	8	36
Craftsmen	3	14	3	14	--	--	--	--
Operatives	8	36	6	29	3	13	4	18
Service workers	5	23	6	29	16	67	9	41
Laborers	3	14	4	19	--	--	1	5
TOTAL**	22	101	21	100	24	100	22	100

* If a parent recieved any type of public welfare assistance in Onondaga County from 1936 to 1962 he was said to have a welfare record.

**Excludes 3 boys and 6 girls who never worked.

Table 38

Number of Jobs Held in First Two Years
After Leaving School, by Socio-economic
Area of Residence at Time of Dropout
and by Sex

Number of Jobs Held in two years	Socio-economic Area at Dropout							
	Boys				Girls			
	I-IV		V		I- IV		V	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	--	--	3	11	4	18	3	10
One	4	22	7	25	9	41	16	53
Two	9	50	10	36	3	14	5	17
Three	1	6	7	25	6	27	4	13
Four,Five	4	22	1	3	--	--	2	7
TOTAL	18	100	28	100	22	100	30	100

Table 39

Number of Jobs Held in First Two Years

Since Leaving School, by Occupation of Father and by Sex

	Father's Occupation											
	Boys						Girls					
Number of Jobs Held in Two Years	White collar, Craftsmen No.	%	Operatives No.	%	Service, Laborers No.	%	White collar, Craftsmen No.	%	Operatives No.	%	Service, Laborers No.	%
None	--	--	--	--	2	20	4	24	1	7	--	--
One	3	33	5	36	3	30	7	41	6	40	5	71
Two	4	45	6	43	1	10	2	12	5	33	--	--
Three	1	11	2	14	2	20	4	24	2	13	2	29
Four, Five	1	11	1	7	2	20	--	--	1	7	--	--
TOTAL*	9	100	14	100	10	100	17	101	15	100	7	100

* Excludes 13 boys and 13 girls for whom fathers' occupation was not ascertained.

Table 40

Number of Jobs Held by Dropouts in First Two Years After Leaving School, by Welfare Record of Parents and by Sex

Number of Jobs Held in Two Years	Welfare Record of Parents*							
	Boys				Girls			
	Welfare		Non-welfare		Welfare		Non-welfare	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	1	4	2	9	2	8	5	19
One	2	9	9	39	12	48	13	48
Two	12	52	7	30	2	8	6	22
Three	5	22	3	13	7	28	3	11
Four,Five	3	13	2	9	2	8	--	--
TOTAL	23	100	23	100	25	100	27	100

* If a parent received any type of public welfare assistance from 1936 to 1962 in Onondaga County, he was said to have a welfare record.

Table 41

Number of Jobs Applied for in Year Preceding Interview, by Socio-economic Area of Residence at Time of Dropout and by Sex

Number of Jobs Applied for in Past Year	Socio-economic Area at Dropout							
	Boys				Girls			
	I - IV		V		I - IV		V	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	5	38	7	30	9	53	11	46
Fewer than 5	--	--	2	9	4	24	9	37
5 - 25	6	46	6	26	1	6	3	13
26 - 50	1	8	2	9	2	12	--	--
More than 50	1	8	6	26	1	6	1	4
TOTAL*	13	100	23	100	17	101	24	100

*Excludes 10 boys and 11 girls for whom number of jobs applied for was not ascertained.

Table 42

Number of Jobs Applied For in Year Preceding Interview, by Welfare History of Parents and by Sex

Number of Jobs Applied for in Past Year	Public Welfare Record of Parents*							
	Boys				Girls			
	Welfare		Non-welfare		Welfare		Non-welfare	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	4	22	8	44	8	40	12	57
Fewer than 5	1	6	1	6	7	35	6	29
5 - 25	7	39	5	28	3	15	1	5
26 - 50	2	11	1	6	1	5	1	5
More than 50	4	22	3	17	1	5	1	5
TOTAL**	18	100	18	101	20	100	21	101

* If parents received any type of public welfare assistance in Onondaga County from 1936 to 1962 they were said to have a welfare record.

**Excludes 10 boys and 11 girls for whom number of jobs applied for was not ascertained.

Table 43

Number of Jobs Applied for in Year Preceding Interview, by Occupation of Father and by Sex

Number of Jobs Applied for in Past Year	Father's Occupation											
	Boys						Girls					
	White collar, Craftsmen		Operatives		Service, Laborers		White collar, Craftsmen		Operatives		Service, Laborers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	2	29	2	20	4	50	6	40	6	55	2	40
Fewer than 5	--	--	1	10	1	13	7	47	2	18	2	40
5 - 25	2	29	5	50	1	13	--	--	3	27	1	20
26 - 50	3	43	--	--	--	--	1	7	--	--	--	--
More than 50	--	--	2	20	2	25	1	7	--	--	--	--
TOTAL*	7	101	10	100	8	101	15	101	11	100	5	100

* Excludes all those for whom father's occupation or number of jobs applied for was not ascertained.

Table 44

Length of Time on Jobs Held by Boys at Time of Interview, by Marital Status

Length of Time on Job at Interview	Marital Status Single No.	%	Married No.	%	All Boys No.	%
1 month or less	3	14	3	25	6	18
5 weeks - 3 months	2	10	1	8	3	9
4 - 6 months	4	19	1	8	5	15
7 - 18 months	6	28	1	8	7	21
19 or more months	6	28	6	50	12	37
TOTAL*	21	99	12	99	33	100

* Excludes 13 boys who were not employed at the time of the interview.

Table 45

Number of Jobs Held in the First Two Years Since Leaving School, by Marital and Parental Status at Time of Interview and by Sex

Number of Jobs Held in Two Years	Marital and Parental Status											
	Boys				Girls							
	Single		Married*		Single, No Children		Married, No Children		Unwed Mother		Married, Children	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	3	10	--	--	1	6	--	--	1	10	5	33
One	7	23	4	27	7	41	4	40	8	80	6	40
Two	14	45	5	33	5	29	2	20	--	--	1	7
Three-Five	7	23	6	40	4	23	4	40	1	10	3	20
TOTAL	31	101	15	100	17	99	10	100	10	100	15	100

*There were too few married boys to break this category into "married - no children,""married -children."

Table 46

Type of Job Held by Boys at Time of Interview, by Marital Status

Type of Job Held at Interview	Marital Status					
	Single		Married		All Boys	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
White collar	3	14	1	8	4	12
Craftsmen	1	5	3	25	4	12
Operatives	9	43	4	33	13	40
Service, laborers	8	38	4	33	12	36
TOTAL*	21	100	12	99	33	100

*Excludes 13 boys who were not employed at the time of the interview.

Table 47

Hourly Wage on Jobs Held by Boys at Time of Interview, by Marital Status

Hourly Wage on Job Held at Interview	Marital Status					
	Single		Married		All Boys	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
$1.25 or less	4	24	4	33	8	27
$1.26 - $1.50	3	18	2	17	5	17
$1.51 - $2.00	6	35	1	8	7	24
$2.01 and above	4	24	5	42	9	31
TOTAL*	17	101	12	100	29	99

*Excludes 13 boys who were unemployed at the time of the interview and 4 boys for whom hourly wage was not ascertained.

Table 48

Length of Time on Jobs Held by Boys at Time of Interview, by Parents' Marital Status

Length of Time on Current Job	Parents' Marital Status				All Boys	
	Both Parents Living Together		Separated, Divorced, Deceased			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 month or less	1	5	5	38	6	18
5 weeks - 3 months	2	10	1	8	3	9
4 - 6 months	4	20	1	8	5	15
7 - 12 months	2	10	1	8	3	9
13 - 24 months	4	20	4	31	8	24
25 or more months	7	35	1	8	8	24
TOTAL*	20	100	13	101	33	99

*Excludes 13 boys who were not employed at the time of the interview.

Table 49

Number of Jobs Held by Boys in Two Years After Leaving School, by Parents' Marital Status

Number of Jobs Held in Two Years	Parents' Marital Status				All Boys	
	Both Parents Living Together		Separated, Divorced Deceased			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	3	12	--	--	3	7
One	8	31	3	15	11	24
Two	8	31	11	55	19	41
Three	4	15	4	20	8	17
Four, Five	3	12	2	10	5	11
TOTAL	26	101	20	100	46	100